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PUBLICATION No. IV OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

[1st annual meeting]

FOR THE YEAR

1900.

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CONTENTS.

	History, Organization and Objects of the Society.....	1
II.	Journal of Proceedings. First Annual Meeting at Peoria January 5 and 6, 1900....	2
III.	Journal of Proceedings. Special Meeting at Springfield May 23, 1900.....	4
IV.	President's Address, <i>Hon. Hiram W. Beckwith</i>	5
V.	Secretary's Report for the Executive Committee.....	10
VI.	Annual Address, <i>Hon. Richard Edwards</i>	12
VII.	The Field for Archaeological Research in Illinois, <i>Dr. John F. Snyder</i>	21
VIII.	Local Historical Societies, Their Field of Work and Their Relation to the State Society, <i>Captain J. H. Burnham</i>	30
IX.	Congressional Reminiscences, <i>General James M. Ruggles</i>	38
X.	Recollections of Stephen A. Douglas, <i>Major George Murray McConnell</i>	40
XI.	Historical Materials in the State Historical Library, <i>Hon. George N. Black</i>	51

I.

HISTORY, ORGANIZATION AND OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

The Illinois State Historical Society was organized June 30, 1899, as the result of a meeting held at the University of Illinois, May 19, 1899. It was regularly chartered May 23, 1900, as a corporation under the laws of Illinois.

The present officers of the society are as follows:

President, Hon. H. W. Beckwith, of Danville; Vice-President, Dr. J. F. Snyder, of Virginia; Secretary and Treasurer, Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois.

Executive Committee—The President, the Secretary, Hon. George N. Black, of Springfield; Captain J. H. Burnham, of Bloomington; Professor Edmund J. James, of the University of Chicago; Judge David McCulloch, of Peoria; Hon. J. N. Perrin, of Belleville.

The objects of the society are thus stated in the articles of incorporation: "To excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of historical data in any way connected with Illinois and its peoples."

The first annual meeting of the society was held at Peoria, January 5 and 6, 1900, and the second annual meeting is to be held at Springfield, January 30, 1901.

II.

THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS.

First annual meeting held at the Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Friday and Saturday, January 5 and 6, 1900.

First session, Friday evening, at eight o'clock. President H. W. Beckwith presided. An address of welcome was delivered by Judge N. E. Worthington, of Peoria. The president's address was delivered by Judge Beckwith, and the annual address by Dr. Richard Edwards, of Bloomington.

Second session, Saturday morning, at half-past nine. Judge Beckwith presided. The literary program was carried out as follows:

The Field for Archaeological Research in Illinois, by Dr. J. F. Snyder, Virginia.

Local Historical Societies; Their Field of Work and Their Relation to the State Society, by Captain J. H. Burnham, of Bloomington.

Congressional Reminiscences, by General J. M. Ruggles, of Havana.

The business meeting was opened by the reading of the secretary's report for the executive committee. The officers of the society were unanimously re-elected.

Captain Burnham then presented for consideration at a subsequent meeting the following resolution:

"The first vice-president shall be the president of the Chicago Historical Society, and the presidents of all the county historical societies of Illinois shall be vice-presidents of this society and entitled to precedence in the alphabetical order of the names of the several counties."

It was voted that a committee be appointed on publication. Judge Beckwith named the following committee: Messrs. G. N. Black, of Springfield; E. L. Merritt, of Springfield; J. A. James, of Northwestern University; E. B. Greene, of the University of Illinois.

It was also voted that a committee on auxiliary societies be named by the chair. The chair reserved the appointment of this committee to a subsequent time.

It was voted that the papers of the session be placed on file with the committee on publication.

At the close of the morning session the members of the society were given a luncheon by the authorities of the Bradley Institute. At the close of the luncheon a resolution of thanks to the authorities of the institute was moved and carried.

On motion of General Ruggles, a resolution was adopted expressing the society's appreciation of the services of Mrs. Bradley in the founding of the institute.

Third session, Saturday afternoon at two o'clock.

The first number on the program was an address by Dr. Robert Boal, of Lacon, entitled Reminiscences, but owing to indisposition, Dr. Boal was unable to be present. Papers were then read by Major G. M. McConnel, of Chicago, on Recollections of Stephen A. Douglas, and by Hon. George N. Block, of Springfield, on Historical Materials in the State Historical Library. Judge David McCulloch, of Peoria, presented a communication with regard to Lincoln and Douglas.

The thanks of the society were voted for the hospitality of the citizens of Peoria.

Adjourned.

E. B. GREENE,
Secretary.

III.

SPECIAL MEETING.

A special meeting was held at the State House in Springfield, May 23, 1900.

President Beckwith took the chair. At a brief literary session short addresses were given by General John M. Palmer and General James M. Ruggles. Hon. J. N. Perrin presented a communication with regard to a French civil record of the eighteenth century, deposited by him with the society.

At the business meeting on the same afternoon it was voted that the location of the society should be fixed at Springfield.

It was voted to establish three standing committees as follows:

1. A committee on finance.
2. A committee on the examination and publication of manuscripts and documents.
3. A committee on auxiliary societies.

It was voted that the custody of manuscripts and other historical materials belonging to the society be vested in the librarian of the State Historical Library.

The President, as chairman of the Executive Committee, announced the following sub-committee on the program of the next annual meeting: Messrs. J. F. Snyder, J. H. Burnham, E. B. Greene.

It was voted that the President and Secretary be authorized to issue a circular calling attention to the work of the society.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees, held on the same day, it was voted that the second annual meeting be held at Springfield January 30, 1901, and Hon George N. Black and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber were appointed a local committee of arrangements with power to select their associates.

The following honorary members of the society were elected by the trustees: Gen. John M. Palmer, Gen. John A. McClernand, Hon. Charles P. Johnson, Judge James B. Bradwell, Gen. James M. Ruggles, Mr. R. G. Thwaites.

E. B. GREENE, *Secretary*.

IV.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING IN PEORIA
JANUARY 5, 1900.

By Hiram W. Beckwith.

Much that relates to early Illinois is in manuscript at Paris and London. Some of the story is in print. All such matter will keep for use as wanted. A more urgent need is to find and connect the leading events with the places where they occurred, before the elements or the acts of later comers have destroyed the proofs of their identity.

So of mounds, of the stone and shell works of a pre-historic age. There are more of them, they are spread over a wider field in Illinois than the like remains in any other state of the union. And in the first report of the trustees of the State Historical Library to the Governor, your chairman here urged that these monuments of a perished race be duly surveyed and examined, and that the more noted ones be saved from further needless waste.

Another want too long delayed is to save what may yet be learned as to the early Anglo-American settlers. They or their fathers were on the skirmish line of the main body that came up or over the Alleghanies and spread in the Ohio valley. Always in the wilds, to face the ills about them, ever at war with wild animals or more savage men, whose lairs they invaded, they had no time or means to build or support schools or churches. Indeed, while on the way from the Atlantic slope but a few more favored retained a knowledge of books, while the mass had no chance to learn either to read or write.

In their struggle for life and its bare necessities they acquired courage, patience, self-reliance and an abiding faith in the God of their fathers. With these traits we first find them in the Illinois, having little else in hand than a gun, a hunter's knife and woodman's ax. They pushed on up the Mississippi and Wabash, or their side streams, from either border, to keep up their old fight against a malarial climate, the bear, the wolf, the panther and the Indian. In good time they knit a fringe of farms, churches and towns across the southern half of Illinois, where they ruled its territorial and state polity and politics for more than half a century.

With their rifles and their leverage in Congress they also cleared the savages from the northern section of the State and fitted it for a New England stock of settlers, whose inflow was mostly up, or from the lake and river drainage of the St. Lawrence. And in the progress of events these scions of the roundhead faced the descendant of the cavalier along a line drawn near midway across the State. Both were better fitted for the work they were to do, by the one having got rid of the Puritanic zeal and intolerance of his ancestors, and the other of the haughty airs and indolent ways of the chivalry of old Virginia and the Carolinas.

A reminiscence of these pioneers is vital to a true knowledge of Illinois. The work referred to can only be done through a directing head, or State Historical Society, with a branch society of earnest workers at every county seat. The parent as well as its organized helpers will require aid from the State, or from the counties, or from both. They ought to be free of politics and sectarian bias. The head society within its orbit should be equal to, and not the appendage of, any other public institution of the State. Its permanent home and the storage of its archives should be at the capitol. So placed,

it will have a hearing from the Legislature and favors from the general public that it would not command if located in any other part of the State. This is not a protest against meeting elsewhere, for your chairman favors the holding of special sessions elsewhere over the State from time to time, as the members of the society may elect.

As for the foreign manuscripts and printed matter, old or new, or yet to come, the State Historical Library can and will take care of that. Let it be more the province of the State Historical Society, with its outreaching arms, to glean whatever may relate to a locality or its people. Lectures or monographs on the like subjects, topically treated, should be invited and most heartily encouraged. Trivial as it may erroneously seem, a true story of the early church or schools of any county, or of its pioneer preachers or its itinerant school masters is well worth the trouble, care and time of the best talent.

Before all this comes the query, "Is the work worth the time, labor and outlay that it implies?" More than sixty years ago this question was answered, "Yes," and has been so answered with an increasing volume ever since. The need to do something had become so apparent that a meeting was held February 4, 1837, in the State House at Vandalia. It was largely attended by judges, members of the bar, members of the Legislature, and other leading minds of the day, from among whom Samuel D. Lockwood was elected president and Walter B. Scates was chosen secretary. Thomas Ford, of a committee previously named, offered a set of resolutions, which, after being added to by Thomas J. Hewitt, Jesse B. Thomas and James Shields, set forth the aims of the meeting, which are now and here condensed as follows:

First—That a complete history of Illinois should be prepared so as to embrace the several stages of progress from its earliest discovery down to that time, showing its moral, religious, military, social, political, and commercial advances in truthful detail, and without prejudice for or against any sect, party or local interest. On this broad and just plan the Rev. John M. Peck, then acknowledged as the best qualified, was selected for the task.

He was to have the aid of a committee of twenty-one on correspondence to collect and supply the required material. Every settled portion of the State was represented on this committee, among whom we find the names of Sidney Breese, John Kinzie, Nathaniel Pope, Samuel McRoberts of Vermilion county, William Wilson, Thomas Ford, Cyrus Edwards, John Reynolds, Samuel Lockwood, Zadock Casey, Peter Menard, John Russell of Bluffdale, John Hay, Richard M. Young of Adams county, James M. Robinson of White, the Rev. Gideon Blackburn of Macoupin, James Lemen and William Kinney of St. Clair.

All these, like those named elsewhere at the meeting, were pioneers, and whether as State officers, or as lawyers, whether of the laity or the clergy, will be remembered in honor for the interest they took in the State whose good name and fame they helped create and cherished equally with their own.

But neither they nor Dr. Peck ever began the work assigned them. A want of material, ignorance of much manuscript and printed matter since unearthed, a lack of public interest and a want of time or means to collect local data, and the lack of practical method, argued a failure from the start. And now, after two generations have come and gone, we find ourselves not much better prepared to write a correct history of Illinois than were they of the Vandalia meeting.

In the meanwhile the so-called histories of Illinois, either as school books or for a deeper reading, are copied, errors and all, from other volumes where dates, names, localities, or events are often left out, or sadly confused, while the aims of the chief actors are either mis-stated or ignored, so that the picture misleads and gives an insufficient and distorted view from foreground to perspective. This is said in no vein of censure at all. In the poverty of material then at hand, and without means to correct errors, to modify conclusions or give breadth and balance to the whole, none of us could have done better, or perhaps even as well as did the authors of the volumes in question.

It would be untimely here to review the writings of Peck, Brown, Reynolds and Ford. They are all valuable for the original matter they contain which can not be otherwise replaced. So of the "Western Annals," that contain much of early Illinois, the edition compiled by James Handyside Perkins in 1844, the revision thereof in 1851 by Dr. John M. Peck, and the enlarged issue of 1853 by James R. Albaugh, who was the proprietor of the three editions.

The history of Illinois is romantic in all its earlier colorings. It is the beginning place for the histories of every other state on the water-shed of the Mississippi. It is the base from whence that river was explored from the mouth of the Illinois up to Mille Laes, above the falls of Saint Anthony; then down to and through its main outlets, by Robert Cavalier, the Sieur de La Salle. The Illinois country east to the Wabash, with a strip on the west of the Mississippi, and south to the Arkansas, had been already granted to him as a seigniory, to induce him to explore the great river in its lower extent, and fortify and colonize it near the sea. He made his comrade, Henry Tonty, the first Governor of Illinois, with quarters at Fort St. Louis, on the spot now known as Starved Rock, that overlooks the river Illinois in LaSalle county.

As a sub-province of New France, the Illinois lay partly in Louisiana and partly in Canada, while the boundary line between its two sections was always in dispute. The civil, religious, and military affairs of the lower section were directed from Mobile, and later from New Orleans, and those of the more northern from Quebec.

So also was there a constant strife between the clergy and the laity for the control of all of the country south and west of the lakes, the one desiring to keep it as a land of Indian missions and the other wishing to develop its soil and extend its commerce. The clergy were early headed by Francois Xavier Laval, Bishop of Petreae and Vicar Apostolic of New France, and later Bishop of Quebec. The traders were led by Louis de Baude, Count de Frontenac, Governor General of New France, and among his most noted followers were John Talon, his intendant, and Sieur de La Salle.

The two factions were bitter and said many hard things of each other. And the impartial historian will have to carefully sift and make due allowance for these old prejudices.

Later, the Illinois, with all Louisiana, their mines, revenues and trade, were granted to Anthony Crozat, a Paris banker. He made no profit of the gift and released it to France. And now John Law appeared. He hoped, on the death of Louis XIV. and the accession to power of the Duke of Orleans, together with the wretched state of French credit, to find at last a country that would adopt his wild financial notions. Much had already been said of the fertility of Louisiana, while the extent and riches of its gold and silver mines were reported to be greater than those of Peru and Mexico. Here was a basis of credit without limit. So Law took what Crozat discarded, added to it the fur trade of Canada and placed both in a bond and stock corporation known under a royal edict as "The Company of the West." In brief time the older Company of the East Indies was absorbed by Law's company, and under the new name of the "Company of the Indies" got control of the French trade and revenues in Asia, Africa and America.

Between the streets of St. Denis and St. Martin in Paris was that of Quinquempoix, a short lane, occupied mostly by bankers. As the excitement for Law's stock grew, all the houses in Quinquempoix were turned into stock jobbers' stalls. These did not suffice and it is told how in the course of a few days a little hunchbacked man made 150,000 livres by hiring out his hump to brokers for a writing desk. The street itself had come to be called Mississippi, while the investors there were known as "Mississippians." And when the craze declined, Law had the government conscript and clothe some 6,000 of the very dregs of Paris to work the gold mines of Louisiana. These paupers were paraded for days through the streets with their picks and shovels, and then sent off in small squads to the several sea ports for shipment to America. Not a third of them ever got there, and in a few weeks, more than

half of them were again in their old haunts at Paris. Still, the gullible public believed that work was now to begin in earnest in the new Golconda, and that soon the gold and silver ingots would come to France.

In all this pretense there was one honest effort to develop the supposed mines of Louisiana; namely, that of Philip Francis Renault. Of a noted family, and learned in natural history and mineralogy, he was made director general of the company's mines in Louisiana, and induced to go there to discover new mines and work those already reported as known. He landed at Fort Chartres on the American bottom, in Randolph county, Illinois, with 200 laborers, mechanics and miners, and 500 negro slaves, bought by the company for him at St. Domingo, to work in the mines.

We pass aside for a moment to say that the records of the "India Company" contain the following regulations for a provincial council of Illinois, namely:

Article 1—The provincial council of Illinois shall hold its sessions at the place where the principal factories of the company shall be located, and its jurisdiction shall extend to all places on and above the Arkansas river to the boundaries of the Wabash river (which may here mean the Ohio river) on the east of the same, to where the lines of Louisiana (and Canada?) are found and up both banks of the Mississippi to where these lines meet.

Article 2—The council shall consist of (Pierre Dugué) M. de Boisbriant (Lord of the Manor Briarwood), first lieutenant of the King in the Province of Louisiana and commandant of Illinois, as chief and judge, and of M. de la Loire des Ursins as the general agent of the India Company.

The company had one principal factory at Fort Chartres. The council had almost sovereign powers. It granted Renault four large bodies of land, two of them in Illinois, one of the latter being near Fort Chartres, on which five miles above the fort he built his headquarters, the village of St. Philip. On account of its local interest to Peoria, we give the description of Renault's other Illinois grant in full. It is as follows:

"One league in front of Pini-i-teau on the river Illinois, facing the east and adjoining to the lake bearing the name of the village, and on the other side to the banks opposite the village, half a league above it, with a depth of five leagues. The point of compass following the Illinois river down the same upon one side and ascending by the river Ar-cary, which forms the middle through the rest of the depth."

The Ar-cary is believed to be the Indian name of the stream now known as Kickapoo creek. It is a historical fact that during the regime of Crozat, he made a partner in his trade of de La Mothe Cadillac, an early Louisiana governor, who went from Mobile up the Mississippi and Illinois in search of precious metals, and reported on his return to Mobile that he had found a silver mine on the latter river. His daughter, a lovely and refined girl, raised in luxury, bore all the fatigues and privations of this long and tedious canoe voyage with her father. It is also a historical fact that silver was extracted from the Illinois river lead ore; hence Renault's grant at Peoria.

We might refer to the part the French and Indians of the Illinois took in the American colonial war, between France and Great Britain, or tell how the fields of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Prairie du Rocher provisioned Forts Du Quesne and Niagara, the bateaux of the one convoy going up the Ohio, and those of the other up the Wabash, down the Maumee and thence along the south shore of Lake Erie to the rapids of Niagara.

It could also be told that the hardy hunters and voyageurs from the Illinois were at Braddock's defeat; that they captured George Washington at Fort Necessity; gave a late and temporary relief to the besieged at Fort Du Quesne, to be finally beaten in a like effort near the fort at Ontario. In fact, Commandant M. de McCarty wrote from Fort Chartres that "the Illinois had lost the flower of its population" in that contest. And thus does the story of the Illinois swell up from the gorges, below the whirlpool and mingle in the roar of Niagara.

Its later condition as a part of the Province of Quebec, under British domination, could be recited as well also as its subsequent conquest by Colonel Clark, during the revolutionary war, and its organization, with all of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin into Illinois county of the Commonwealth of Virginia. But anything more than a mere outline would be untimely here, for your chairman is sensible that all this is familiar ground to the learned assembly he is now addressing.

Finally, your chairman can not too forcibly urge the necessity there is to localize many of the recorded events in our early State history. To illustrate:

Among the expeditions sent out from Fort Chartres to chastise the Sak and Fox Indians, always enemies of the French, was one that found and defeated these savages entrenched towards the sources of the Sangamon river. Now if our zealous friend, Captain Burnham, and his industrious associates, can identify this battle ground in McLean county, as your chairman hopes they may, it will be an ample reward for the historical society at Bloomington.

Again, if Judge Cunningham, or the historians that may follow him, can fix the Big Grove or other place at or near Urbana, as the turning point of General Hopkins' mounted riflemen in October, 1812, the result will be well worth the labor the judge has given to this research. Hopkins' army crossed the Wabash at Fort Harrison and rode four days north through the prairies, intending to join Governor Edwards' forces at Peoria lake in an assault upon the Kickapoo villages in that vicinity.

Somewhere near Peoria's chain of lakes and close to one of their connecting water links, La Salle, in the early winter of 1680, built his fort of Broken Heart, and near by the water brink began and almost finished the hull of the vessel in which he meant to descend the Mississippi. Now, where was the site of this fort and dock? We trust that the Peoria historical society may yet find some spot that will, with reasonable certainty, agree at least with the original description of the locality.

La Salle left the Illinois in 1683 forever, a bankrupt and broken in health, his trade rivals reaping in places where he had sown, and well might he say, as he did, "he had suffered in losses and ill fortune more through the envious acts of others than from tempests and storms." In a land where his countrymen saw only peltries, game, savages or mission spots for them and their posterity, with petty trade and sway, which these conditions would entail, his constant theme was "its favoring climate, its forests, meads, mines and prairies, its herbage, roots, fruits and plants, the richness of its soil and its internal lakes and rivers for easy commerce." "All these," he said, "fitted it to invite and sustain powerful colonies."

The winds have strewn his dust near an unknown river in Texas, but his great thought has been turned to account by another race having his broad and aggressive ways. While those who balked and mocked him are now only remembered because they did so, his living monument is the empire of the Mississippi valley, with Illinois its controlling center. His figure stands out boldly in the dawn of our history. By his side is Henry Tonty, the saintly Marquette, the Jesuit Fathers, Claude Alouez and James Gravier. All of them were on the Illinois river at a period which we still misname the "pre-historic age," and saw the savages throwing aside their rude pottery and stone and bone implements, in exchange for the brass kettles, needles, knives, hatchets and guns which the French traders were bringing to them.

In the background along the Illinois river and the American bottom, the earthworks of a still more ancient race loom in the mist, where the certainty of history is lost in conjecture. The great mound at Cahokia, overlooks the valley and river as the sphinx does the Nile, seemingly to baffle all efforts to know when, how, or by whom it was made. Extend the footlights and widen the angle of view and in the nearer foreground we see the forms of General Thomas Gage and Captain Thomas Sterling of British rule; of Colonel George Rogers Clark and Patrick Henry; of Ninian Edwards, Duncan and Hardin; of Douglas, Grant and Lincoln. What other State of the republic can array a group more varied and grand?

V.

SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Presented at the first annual meeting in Peoria, January 6, 1900.

Mr. President and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

I have the honor to present, in behalf of the Executive Committee, the following report:

It seems appropriate to begin with a brief account of the steps which have led up to the organization of the society, and to the present meeting.

In pursuance of a call issued from the State University and signed by the trustees of the State Historical Library in Springfield and others interested in the history of Illinois, a meeting was held at the University of Illinois, May 19, 1899, to consider the advisability of organizing an historical society for the State. The meeting was attended by a considerable number of persons fairly representative of different portions of the State, and Judge H. W. Beckwith, the president of the Board of Trustees of the State Historical Library, was called to the chair. After a general discussion, it was unanimously agreed that such an organization was desirable. The chairman was then authorized to appoint a committee, of which he was himself to be a member; to prepare a plan of organization and to outline the work of such a society. Judge Beckwith accordingly appointed as his associates on this committee, Capt. J. H. Burnham of Bloomington, Judge J. O. Cunningham of Urbana, Professors E. J. James of the University of Chicago and E. B. Greene of the University of Illinois, and Dr. J. F. Snyder of Virginia.

A meeting of the committee was held on June 30, 1899, at the State Historical Library in Springfield. All the members were present except Professor James and Captain Burnham. Judge Beckwith acted as chairman. After an informal discussion it was voted to proceed to the organization of the society. A constitution for the Illinois State Historical Society was adopted, and the following officers elected: President, Judge H. W. Beckwith of Danville; Vice President, Dr. J. F. Snyder of Virginia; Secretary, Evarts B. Greene of the University of Illinois; Executive Committee, Hon. George N. Black of Springfield, Captain J. H. Burnham of Bloomington, Professor E. J. James of the University of Chicago, Judge David McCulloch of Peoria, Hon. J. N. Perrin of Belleville. No treasurer was elected.

The constitution provided for annual meetings to be held at such time and place in the month of January as the committee might designate. After considerable correspondence, it was finally decided to hold the meeting in Peoria, it being generally understood that the next meeting would probably be held in Springfield, and a program of papers was prepared.

We may now pass to a consideration of the future work of the society, and of the business which claims the attention of this meeting.

The constitution calls for the election of officers annually at the January meeting, exception being made of such officers as the Society may deem it wise to elect for an indefinite period. So far, no officer has been so designated. The election of officers will, therefore, be a part of the business of this meeting.

The constitution calls for the incorporation of the society. An application for incorporation should contain a statement as to the location of the organization. This question may, perhaps, best be decided by the society as a whole. A fee of ten dollars is also to be paid in advance, a sum which the executive committee has not thus far had at its disposal.

The financial question should also be considered. The constitution provides that any person may become a member on payment of an initiation fee of one dollar, and requires the subsequent payment of an annual fee of one dollar. So far, the society may be said to be almost literally an organization without members and there is therefore little money in the treasury. The future enrollment of members and the consequent increase of funds will naturally stand in close relations with the work which it undertakes to do. We must, therefore, determine as definitely as possible just what our society can do and ought to do.

It may fairly be said that the holding of annual meetings like the present, with the interchange of ideas and the stimulus of interest which are their result, is in itself a justification of the existence of such a society. If arrangements are made for the publication of these proceedings, the benefits gained may be generally diffused, and historical material of real value may be preserved in permanent form.

This brings us to the question of publication. It certainly seems desirable to publish at least in part the proceedings at our annual meetings. May we not go beyond this and provide for the publication of historical material on a larger scale? The work of publishing unedited manuscript material and the results of historical research is certainly not now being done on such a scale as to preclude our entering upon that field. Would it not be wise to assign to a special Committee on Publication and Historical Manuscripts the task of canvassing the subject and reporting to the society at its next annual meeting a plan for action in this direction?

The paper presented by Captain Burnham indicates a line of activity clearly open to the society. There are various local historical societies and "old settlers" associations whose activity should be brought into fruitful relations with the work of a State society. Our meetings should suggest lines of profitable local research, the best results of which may appear in the annual meetings of the society or in its publications. The society may also organize a sort of central bureau of inquiry to which local workers can appeal for suggestions and assistance of various kinds. The "Bulletins of Information" published by the Wisconsin society show what may be done in this way to guide local effort. Should we not consider the adoption of a definite plan of affiliation for societies auxiliary to the State society.

One of the functions proposed by the constitution is that of forming collections of books and objects of historical interest. It is a question open to discussion whether this society should undertake the formation of any independent library in addition to those already in process of formation. Will it not be better for our society to foster these institutions already in existence than to enter the field as a rival of any or all of them?

A new organization is certainly bound to justify its existence by showing just what work it can do which really needs to be done. Yet it is certainly desirable to develop our work gradually and cautiously. We certainly do not wish to duplicate work now well done by others. If agencies already in the field are prevented by deficient resources from accomplishing all that they might accomplish, we ought not to withhold our support until assured that these existing instrumentalities are incapable of doing what they have been set to do. These are practical questions to be answered by experience. There is much, therefore, which we may leave to future decision, believing that it is better to do a few modest things well than to run the risk of breaking down with a more ambitious program.

Respectfully submitted,

E. B. GREENE, *Secretary.*

For the Executive Committee.

VI.

THE WORTH OF A STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By Hon. Richard Edwards.

I understand that the Illinois State Historical Society is a new organization, and may be said to be just entering upon its work. Under these circumstances it has occurred to me that a certain class of facts and inferences bearing upon the usefulness of history in general, and of the history of Illinois in particular, may at this time fitly be considered. We ought to be able to show that an association like this meets a necessity. We ought to be able to show that there is an important work waiting to be done by it. Certain significant events have occurred, the memory of which needs to be preserved for the use of coming generations. The progress of civilization demands this. If this duty should be neglected the generations that shall follow us would suffer—they would suffer from a poverty that might have been avoided.

We are often told that the human being is molded by his environments. The sights that we see, the sensations that we feel, the beauty of the external world, yea, the very burdens that are laid upon us in our efforts to adapt our environments to our needs,—all these, if rightly used, are helpful in developing our best possibilities. In a recent address Dr. Butler, of New York, tells us that our environments may be divided into two classes. The first class consists of our physical surroundings,—the earth whereon we tread, the sky that spreads its glories above us, and the material substances against which we daily impinge. These from age to age continue substantially the same. The second class consists of that vast accretion of knowledge and its results in habit and conduct which we call civilization. In this there is continual progress. We today ought to be in advance of those who have gone before us in respect to this class of environment. We are the heirs of all the past. This inheritance may have come to us through the records of former achievements, and it may have come through the development of character which these achievements have wrought.

Now, it is the business of history to make this transmission—to supply for each generation of mankind this noble environment. The true historian is he who so compiles the facts, who so adjusts the records of the forces which prevail around him, that his reader in after times may get the full benefit of them. He thus furnishes to those successors a platform whereon they may stand, and from which they may build a higher and a nobler structure. From this it appears that true history deals with the highest and noblest forces of the time to which it relates. It is not a mere record of outward events. It also indicates the aspirations, the motives, the human desires, from which events spring. It shows, not merely the outward deeds that men perform, but it also shows the intellectual and moral status of the performers. So much as to what history ought to be.

But how ought history to be studied? How shall we make it a valuable element in our education and a valuable guide in social and political enterprises? How shall we so use the history that we read as to secure that progress in education which is essential to the true life of mankind? History is sometimes studied from motives of curiosity. Because it satisfies our desires in this particular, it becomes interesting to us. We read the accounts of splendid military movements, of grand political schemes, and of men who have been leaders among their fellows, somewhat as we would look upon a

spectacular play. It appeals to our sensibilities. We are stirred with admiration for the heroes. We are made indignant by the conduct of the villains. And this is commendable. We have many times been told that in educational work one of the most important objects to be attained is the awakening of interest in the mind of the student. The indifference of the soul must be overcome.

But surely something more than this must be accomplished. We are told by the poet that the proper study of mankind is man. By this I suppose is meant that from the study of men's deeds, from an analysis of their motives, from the application of ethical principles to deeds and motives, from the survey of consequences that have followed upon certain lines of action, from a careful discernment of the forces that have given strength to nations and of the opposite forces that have brought about their decay,—from all these lines of study, individuals may derive intellectual strength and clearness, and also a wholesome energy of moral purpose. And under a free government like ours, if such studies become general and are thoroughly pursued, the effect upon the national destiny can not fail to be wholesome. It will clarify the intellectual vision. It will intensify the sense of political responsibility. We study the history of former generations, not for the purpose of imitating them. We read of Nebuchadnezzar's hanging gardens, not that we may be able to reproduce that kind of structure, but in order that we may be able to discern the motive that governed the Babylonian ruler, and in order that we may see how certainly and speedily a selfish autocracy encounters its doom.

Take for an illustration, the history of the Grecian communities. Here we find a race whose attainments in literature, in philosophy, in the higher arts, have secured for them the admiration of mankind through the centuries. They are renowned as having attained the highest mental culture. They have been the teachers of the race in sculpture, in painting, and in all aesthetic culture. More than this, their most famous teachers enunciated some of the noblest ethical truths. Socrates understood and proclaimed some of the fundamental maxims of right living. Plato elaborated beautiful theories concerning the social relations of human beings. It would seem that such knowledge as this ought to have equipped men for the struggle of life, ought to have made them the dominant race among nations, as well as in the schools. And yet we find that they failed in establishing among themselves the practical union which is essential to a just and successful government. The small communities into which the Hellenic race was divided, instead of uniting for mutual good, were much of the time engaged in war with each other. Some of their wisest and noblest men were condemned to ignominious death. And at last they were doomed to the condition of a subject race. Now, as the American citizen reads this history, let him carefully weigh the facts. Let him discern, if possible, the cause of this failure. Why was it that the accomplished Greek, with all his theoretic skill, with his wonderful appreciation of the beautiful, could not for any length of time maintain a respectable city government in Athens, or become a citizen of a strong, practical and humane commonwealth? Was it because in private life he disregarded the ethical principles which he could so clearly set forth? Was it because his every day deeds were dictated by mere impulse, and not by the thoughtful logic of which he was master? Was it because of an excessive egotism, a proud superciliousness which led him to designate all of mankind, not immediately allied to himself, as barbarians? Was it because of a dominating habit of mind that led him finally to exhibit this supercilious spirit even in his intercourse with men of his own race? I am not attempting here to solve the enigma. I am not attempting formally to answer my own questions. I am only suggesting to the student of history the lines of investigation which he may follow. Philosophy, art, a masterful logic, do not constitute all of life. In the practical development of character, in the highest and most efficient use of life something more is required than even the grand endowments of this distinguished race. For the highest development of life there must be a love of justice, a spirit of gentle and patient good will toward others that shall enable men to dwell together in harmony. In short, there must be that exaltation of character which makes human society in its highest and noblest sense possible. In this the Greeks were lacking.

And what of that great power whose seat was on the banks of the Tiber? Its beginnings were small. Tradition tells us of the founding of the city of Rome some time in the eighth century before Christ. Little by little the authority and influence of the new community was extended. There were many wars. There were civil tumults. After more than two hundred years of conflict, the autocrats of the early period were overthrown. But the new government established was far from being an absolute democracy. From time to time kings were appointed for short periods. The real power lay in the hands of an oligarchy. But at last the common people, the plebs, asserted their power and, to some extent, secured equal rights. But during all these changes the significant fact appears that these people clung together. They did not permit themselves to be divided into separate and hostile communities. The result was that their power grew. Little by little their authority expanded, until at last Rome became the mightiest political and military force on the face of the earth. And one of its grand characteristics was that amid all the conflicts that prevailed, notwithstanding the rivalries and the jealousies, there was developed a wholesome regard for law. The principles that must govern associated humanity were studied by the Roman jurists. From time to time these principles were committed to writing, and were solemnly acknowledged by the governing power. And it is certainly to the honor of the Roman commonwealth that their system of jurisprudence has been preserved to our own day, and that among the freest nations now existing on the face of the earth it forms the basis of the prevailing legal systems.

But there were two Romes. One was this of which we have been speaking. Its history covered a period of some seven hundred years from the traditional settlements on the Tiber to the inauguration of the empire under Augustus. The second began its career shortly before the Christian era, and continued until the seat of empire was transferred to Constantinople. We have seen that during the first epoch there prevailed among the people a wonderful spirit of patriotism. They acted in unison. To be a Roman citizen was a badge of honor in any part of the earth. The Roman of the earlier days had also felt the force of what we call moral obligation. There were certain things that he felt compelled to do whether the doing was agreeable to himself or not. There were certain other things from which he felt impelled to abstain, however painful the abstinence might be. Measured by the Christian standard the ethical ideals were not always of the highest, but they were potent. Men felt the force of them. They were also strongly under the influence of religion. They believed in the gods. And this belief influenced them in their daily actions. Undoubtedly, their ethical convictions also were greatly strengthened by their religious faith. Their women were noble patterns of virtuous living. How the Roman matron of these early days is exalted in the literature of the time!

But under the empire things began to change. Wealth had accumulated. The spoils of a conquered world were gathered into Rome. The Roman nobleman had the ready means for the gratification of every desire, and under these circumstances ethical considerations lost their power. The old pagan religion became a dead thing. Men no longer cared for the gods. Neither did they care for righteousness. The contemporaneous literature is full of sneers at the pagan faith and also at the honest simplicity of ancient manners. It is also full of wailing over the moral degeneracy. Horace says "The age of our fathers, worse than that of our grandfathers, has produced us who are yet baser, and who are doomed to give birth to a still more degraded offspring." And what followed? We have seen that the earlier Rome grew mighty from day to day. Its power expanded. The respect felt for it by the nations of the earth grew more and more intense. But in the case of this second Rome the movement, after a little, was in exactly the opposite direction. The power of the empire weakened. Barbarous tribes found that they could successfully resist its arms. The superstitious awe in which Rome had been held began to fade away. Little by little its magnificent power crumbled and the northern barbarians built their empires upon its ruins.

Now let the reader of history establish the connection in these events between cause and effect. What forces were at work to produce the later disin-

tegration? It may be said that the substitution of the empire for the republic, with the placing of power in the hands of one man instead of distributing it among the people, is sufficient to account for the change. I will not argue that question, but will simply recall one fact concerning the establishment of the empire. It is the opinion of historians that the foundation for the empire was laid when the plebeians were admitted to a share in the government. If the oligarchs had retained their ancient and exclusive power, it is believed by many that the empire never would have been born. I think a little study of the condition of things in the time of Julius Cæsar will throw some light on this subject. I think that we may affirm that the causes of the decay were more deeply seated than this. The change in the form of government is not sufficient to account for it. No change in the political constitution of the state could convert such a woman as Cornelia, the noble mother of the Gracchi, into such a reprehensible character as Messalina, the mother-in-law of Nero.

In the history of every nation the thoughtful student may find something worthy of imitation, as well as much of the opposite character. We refer to the American Revolution, by which this great republic was brought into existence, and we glory in the achievements of that period. And yet the Americans of that time were not immaculate saints. Among the patriots of the Revolutionary War there were jealousies, and to some extent, conspiracies. And we find George Washington in his letters vigorously denouncing some of the members of Congress for their lack of interest in the great cause, for their lack of fervid patriotism, and for the selfish schemes into which they were drawn. If these baneful influences had been in the ascendancy, the effort to establish a new nation would never have succeeded. The final inspiring outcome was due to the fact that the country, the Congress and the army contained more patriots than traitors, and that the energetic, vigilant and united activity of the true men was more than a match for the plots and schemes of their opponents. You remember the old story about Sodom. If ten righteous men could have been found in it the city would have been saved. We have reason to be thankful that in the struggles accompanying the birth of our nation, the land contained more than this minimum percentage of righteousness. While uplifting forces are dominant, nations gather strength in spite of all opposing tendencies. And they come to disaster only when shameless iniquity becomes the ruling power.

The field of labor for this society is to be the State of Illinois. What is the nature of the events that have occurred in the history of this commonwealth? What lessons of righteousness, of patriotism, of heroism in the pursuit of worthy objects does this history illustrate? In the year 1673, the French authorities in Canada conceived the project of extending French influence, and promoting the prosperity of the French colonies established in North America, by finding a passage between the Canadian settlements and what they called the South Sea. They did not know whether it was the Pacific or Gulf of Mexico. The enterprise was entrusted to Louis Joliet and the priest, Marquette. These men, inspired apparently by high ideals, one of them hoping to extend French commerce, and the other, impelled by the deepest religious emotion, hoping to convert the aborigines to Christianity, launched forth in two canoes on Lake Michigan, attended by five other men. After much labor they came to the Wisconsin river and found their way down the Mississippi to the 34th degree of latitude. On their return, it is said that Father Marquette founded a mission within the limits of the State of Illinois. He appears to have been, in all respects, a worthy man, animated by a spirit of the highest Christian philanthropy. Thus we see that the first white settlement made in this State was inspired by no mean or selfish sentiment. About the year 1679 LaSalle, after many disasters, built a fort upon the Illinois river and called it the Fort of the Breaking Heart. Not long afterward the appropriateness of the name was verified by the fact that the garrison had mutinied and destroyed the fort, making their way back to Canada. Other French settlements followed in different parts of the State. In the year 1751 it is said that there were five flourishing French colonies within the limits of what now constitutes our State.

In 1763, as a result of the Seven Years' War, the French possessions east of the Mississippi were ceded to England, as far south as the Iberville, not far from the present capital of the state of Louisiana. To this transfer the French colonists do not seem to have taken kindly. One of the effects was to diminish the population of some of the most prominent of them. Kaskaskia, in its best days under the French regime, contained, it is said, from two to three thousand inhabitants. Under the British dominion the population decreased to 460 souls in 1773. This was the condition of things at the breaking out of the American revolution. George Rogers Clarke, a young Virginian, while floating down the Ohio river in 1776, being then only twenty-four years of age, conceived the idea of conquering the country bordering on the Mississippi for the new republic, or for Virginia. In January, 1778, by authority of Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, he arranged an expedition for this purpose. On the 26th of June of that year, he began the descent of the Ohio river from the vicinity of Louisville. Leaving the river at Fort Massac, he marched to Kaskaskia. The place soon fell into his hands. Soon after he took possession of Cahokia and other settlements which had been transferred to England by the French crown. Very little fighting was necessary to achieve these results. The discontented Frenchmen, who formed the bulk of the inhabitants, were ready to welcome the invader. The town of Vincennes, in Indiana, surrendered to a mere proclamation when there was not an American soldier within one hundred miles of the place. The French settlers had been able to make themselves very acceptable to the Indians. But they felt great repugnance towards the English and in five weeks Clarke settled a peace with ten or twelve tribes. It was not long before he captured also the British governor, Hamilton, whose headquarters were at Detroit, and sent him a prisoner to Virginia. When the American commissioners, at the close of the revolutionary war, met the representatives of Great Britain for the arrangement of peace, they could plead very effectively that the Illinois and the Wabash country was, and for sometime had been, in the undisturbed possession of the United States. Clark's achievements, in behalf of the new republic, were certainly of great value. And it was fitting that the fort, erected near the spot on which we stand, should be called Fort Clark.

The events, to which I have referred, furnish a starting point for us in our efforts to estimate the progress of this State. In the 130 years that have since elapsed, what results have been produced? Beginning substantially at the zero point in the year 1778, what gains have been made, and in what directions? Looking first at the material phase of the question, I see it stated that this year the Board of Equalization put the real value of property in this State at \$4,760,497,870. And we have many reasons for believing that the Board of Equalization have been very modest in their estimates. To-day Illinois is the first state in the Union in the mileage of railways, and it is the third in population. It is one of the chief states in the production of cereals, and its manufactures have achieved a wonderful success. It has wielded a mighty influence in the politics of the country, as well as in the nations' military achievements. Citizens of this State have been elected to the chief magistracy of the nation for a period covering sixteen years, and each of the two men thus honored was re-elected. In this respect Illinois has been exceeded by but one state, and that is Virginia, whose political prestige in the early years of the government was unequalled. It contains a municipality on the lake shore which in a little more than sixty years has grown from an insignificant settlement to be the second city in the United States. These are evidences of material progress, and many others might be given. Material progress, if rightly subordinated to higher uses, is not to be despised. It is a proof of effective energy, guided by wisdom and practical skill. Speaking broadly, there are two ways for securing it. One is by the right development of natural conditions—by skillfully using the forces which God and nature put into the hands of men. And this has been the method employed in the wonderful development of this State. But in other cases, as in that of ancient Rome, wealth has been accumulated by mere robbery, by military conquest, by forcible seizing upon that which belonged to others.

And how has it been with higher forms of progress? What provisions have been made for the development of the intelligence of the people? Surely, in this respect we can give a good account of ourselves. Our public

school system was somewhat slowly developed. For many years the education of children could only be accomplished by a degree of effort and by an amount of expenditure in money which would seem strange to us now. Slowly, however, the people of the State reached the conviction that a great responsibility in this matter rested upon them. And in the year 1855 our efficient school law went into effect. In the year 1857 our first normal school was established. And in 1860 it began to occupy the building which is still its home and which, considering the time of its erection, must be pronounced a very superior structure. From small beginnings that institution has grown to be a power in the land, and to-day it stands in the very first rank of normal schools in the United States. So successful has it been that the State has gone on increasing the number of such institutions, until now four are in actual operation, and another is established by law. And at the head of the entire educational system is the magnificent State University at Champaign with its fine buildings, its splendid grounds, its excellent equipments, and its able and faithful faculty. If in the year 1860 some prophet had foretold that in forty years the State would make the vast appropriations for the preparation of teachers and for the higher education of young men and women that it is today making that prophet would have been contemptuously discredited. Besides all these we have private institutions of learning of all grades, from that marvelous institution, the Chicago University, down to the parochial school. For the support of these, vast sums of money are freely given year by year. Consider also the activity of the churches within the limits of our State. Think what a power for good they have wielded and are wielding. Think of the self-denying efforts that have been put forth under their auspices for the improvement of humanity here and elsewhere. Surely, civilization has made a noble progress in Illinois since the days of Marquette and LaSalle.

Any why are these things mentioned? They are not named for the purpose of gratifying our vanity as citizens of the State. They ought not to be looked upon with Pharisaic eyes as proofs of our superiority. They are brought forward in order indicate the work that this society has before it. You are to gather the story of this great progress. You are to make a record that shall be studied by future generations. You are to show, as far as possible, by what forces these results have been achieved. These events furnish an object lesson to the student of human progress. When properly recorded and arranged they can not fail to arouse the latent energies of those who peruse them. As I have already intimated, succeeding generations have a right to demand this of us. If any good has been achieved here they have a right to know it and to know how it was accomplished, so that, if they will, they may utilize it in solving the problems of their own time.

But the student of the history of our State will find something in the way of warning as well as encouragement. Our citizens have not all been glorified saints. Even in the earliest days, those heroic days to which we have already referred, the days of enthusiastic explorations, there were evils and some of them terrible. It is said that several times LaSalle, the explorer, barely escaped being poisoned, and at last, on account of the jealousy of those with whom he was associated, he was basely murdered. The faithful student must look at these events from all sides. He must be impartial in deciding upon the motives and characters of men. He must carefully weigh the influence of good and bad actions upon the progress of civilization. The lesson that he will thus learn will be of infinite value to him, for it will teach him that "righteousness exalteth a nation and sin is a reproach to any people."

John Morley in his "Oliver Cromwell" speaks of the importance of what he calls the historic sense. He thinks that in recent writings this sense is more apparent than it was in former works. That is, we are becoming better able to discern the facts that possess a truly historic character, and to be guided by that discernment in our writing. In other words, recent writers of history have more skill in determining which of the events that are occurring about us have a real historic value. Of the acts that are performed day

by day in these communities, what ones will really have an influence in determining the true history of this and subsequent times? It must be conceded that some of the daily actions which we observe are not very significant in this respect. The historian must have the power of discernment, as we have said. But this is not all. He must feel constrained to be guided by this discernment. He must not allow himself to be swayed by prejudice or self-interest in arranging his facts. In other words, the historian must labor under a strong sense of responsibility. If he fails in this, and his work becomes in any sense the guide of others, great injustice may be done. False lessons may be taught, and the readers of the history may be led into the advocacy of measures, and into the doing of deeds that shall result in disaster. Mr. Morley refers to Clarendon's history of the English rebellion of the 17th century as an illustration of this. This writer was not lacking in intellectual ability. He was also thoroughly conversant with the facts with which he dealt. But his judgment was swayed by his theory of government and by bitter personal animosities. And yet on account of the author's superior ability, and of his consequent skill as a writer, the English nation, for two hundred years, were misled in regard to the events of which he treats. Men who had shown themselves to be thoroughly patriotic, were, by this author, held up to the execration of their countrymen, and continued for many decades of years to be regarded as reprobates. Not until after Burke and Macaulay and Gardiner and Goldwin Smith had presented a thorough refutation of Clarendon's errors were the British people prepared to do justice to the heroes of the times of Charles I and the commonwealth.

Now every such misrepresentation of history retards the true progress of the race. We can not afford to waste the centuries in groping through such historic darkness. There is never a time when we do not absolutely need all the knowledge we can possibly have to enable us to use aright our opportunities. The problems of government, and of sociology, are very intricate. The possibilities of error in them are very numerous. The misleading by-paths allure us continually from the right way. We have, therefore, no time for wandering after false lights. We need, and those who are to follow us will need, the most absolutely reliable guidance. Is not an association, organized as this is, precisely the instrumentality that is needed in this work? We have already determined that this great State is a worthy field for this kind of historic investigation. Who shall make it? Some local organization? Some skillful writers animated by partisan views in politics, by sectarian beliefs in religion? The local organizations will be very helpful assistants to the State society. They can perform work of great value, and they are already doing it. Many of them, too, are exhibiting a spirit of commendable catholicity. They are making truthful and just records of the events with which they are dealing. But surely we can not fail to see that something more is needed here. We do not entrust the senators and representatives, even from Peoria county, with the making of laws for all Illinois. Peoria legislators need to have their wisdom corrected and enlarged by the knowledge that has been developed under other and varying conditions. Let the local organizations pour their wealth of facts and opinions into the treasury of the State society. There let them be assorted and compared by competent authority, by those who possess the historic sense, and who are animated by a profound sense of responsibility in the use of their material.

The present social condition of our State suggests many important and interesting questions. Take, for example, the question of the amalgamation of the different branches of the Caucasian race. That process is certainly going on all about us. What is to be the effect of it? Is it true, as claimed by some, that the mightiest and the best nations are of mixed origin? If that proposition is correct, we are likely to develop a very superior type of mankind. The elements of the new compound are all here. The Frenchman is here, and has been from the beginning, with all his striking and interesting peculiarities—his vivacity, his love of art, his social tendencies, and whatever drawbacks he may labor under. And so of the Irishman and the Cambrian, with their excitability and emotional tendencies. Here, also, are the sturdy Anglo-Saxon, and the staid and philosophic German, not to mention many other more recent comers, whose presence among us has had the effect of complicating our social questions. What is to be the effect of all this? Is

there to be developed here a single, compact and superior race that shall absorb into itself all the good qualities of the families from which it sprung, while it discards every objectionable trait? Are we to grow up into a noble, healthy, energetic people, marked by a serene and just self-control, and producing in our civilization a normal exhibition of artistic culture, love of liberty, and a spirit of unselfish good will? Mr. Morley, quoting from Goldwin Smith, says that "Oliver Cromwell was about the greatest human force ever directed to a moral purpose, and in that sense about the greatest man that ever trod the scene of history." And then he goes on to show that this same Cromwell, so far from being a pure Anglo-Saxon, was a descendent of Richard Williams, a Welshman from Glamorganshire, who was associated with Thomas Cromwell in the time of Henry VIII. So that those who insist that what is called a Celtic strain is needed to give fire and speed to the English stock, find Oliver a case in point. Let the Illinois Historical Society enlighten us on this point. Or perhaps it is not true that a mingling of races is necessary to the development of which we speak, that the experiences of this western world and the scenery by which we are surrounded, the opportunities presented to every man, the incentives to industry and right development, are of themselves enough to modify character. Does the Patrick, who brings to these prairies all his effusive peculiarities, undergo a transformation as the years come and go? Does he, after awhile, take on some of the staid solidity of the Anglo-Saxon? Let the historical society find out.

In a recent publication President Eliot, of Harvard University, gives an account of the mode of life pursued by the dwellers on one of the islands belonging to the state of Maine. The people are described as industrious and economical. Their life is one of continuous labor. The profits that accrue to them in dollars and cents are small. Their dwellings are simple and inexpensive. The man who is taken as representative of his class in the description, at one time as a result of a long practice of the virtues of industry and economy, finds himself in possession of nearly \$1,000, and is on that account regarded as a successful capitalist. On another occasion fire broke out in a smoke house belonging to him, causing a loss of about \$500, and it was regarded as a gigantic misfortune. Dr. Eliot goes on to describe the labor performed in picking up the cobble-stones upon the ground to be cultivated and building them up into walls to serve as fences and also as a protection against the washing away of the land on the coast. The writer is evidently greatly interested in his subject, and he goes on to show that notwithstanding the apparent hardships which he has described, these people maintain good schools, are themselves intelligently informed in regard to many of the occurrences of the time, that their sense of moral responsibility is strong and practically active, and that they live cheerful and happy lives.

And are there not in our country many millions of men and women to whom this description might in a general way apply? And how are these people connected with the general welfare of the country? Are they not in an important sense the creators of its prosperity? There can be no increase of wealth except as in some way wealth is earned by the development of natural resources. The man who causes two blades of grass to grow where, without his labor, only one would grow, is a creator of wealth, while the man who enriches himself by a sharp bargain contributes nothing to the real wealth of the country. And one is therefore not surprised to find Dr. Eliot, at the close of his description, uttering this sentiment, "This is the life of one of the forgotten millions. It contains no material for distinction, fame or long remembrance; but it does contain the material and present the scene for a normal human development through mingled joy and sorrow, labor and rest, adversity and success, and through the tender loves of childhood, maturity and age. We can not but believe that it is just for countless quiet, simple lives like this that God made and upholds this earth."

Now suppose that in the history of the nation the enterprises of these comparatively obscure people were to be neglected. Suppose the historical accounts busy themselves only with great battles, with the manipulations of shrewd politicians, with the movements by which empires are artificially built, or even with the names of those who acquire fame in literature and art. What an inadequate representation of the genuine life of the people it would

be! What an incomplete expression of that which really makes for the national life? The world has been misled. Men and women have had their energies directed to the mere frivolities of life by reason of this partial way in which history has been written. Let me implore the members of this association therefore to see to it that as far as it is possible for them, the real life of the people shall be set forth in their records. Let history show the progress which has been made in the industrial arts, in the tilling of the soil, in the securing of domestic comforts, in the development of those arts by which the wants of ordinary humanity are supplied, and by which commonplace men and women are strengthened in intellect and ennobled in character.

And let us remember that we are continually making history. This society must deal with the seething activities of today. Never since time began has humanity been so active as it is now. There are many evil activities. There are forces at work for the destruction of men and women. But, thank God, there are also beneficent activities. There never was a time when wealth was so freely used for humane purposes. Institutions of learning, by the beneficence of states and of individuals, are multiplying on every hand, and special efforts are made to meet special necessities as they appear. Of this we have an illustration in the finely equipped institution to whose attractive home this society has at this time been invited. The Bradley Institute, with its impulse of benevolence and with its discriminating efforts to dignify ordinary human labor, is one of the characteristics of our times. I was talking with a friend the other day about a school established in Chicago for the purpose of training the children, the boys and girls of Russian Jews, who have been driven by the tyranny of their native homes to this western republic. These are worthy efforts. They are efforts in the line of a genuine civilization. And the history that forgets them leaves out of the account one of the worthiest elements in modern life. Let the State Historical Society make a record of these worthy enterprises. Let its record be preserved for the use of future generations, so that those who come after us shall be stimulated not to imitation merely, but to improvement and enlargement of the worthy enterprises of today.

VII.

THE FIELD FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN ILLINOIS.

By Dr. J. F. Snyder.

"And did the dust
Of these fair solitudes once stir with life
And burn with passion? Let the mighty mounds
That overlook the rivers; or that rise
In the dim forest crowded with old oaks
Answer."—*Bryant*.

The term "Archaeology," is employed in this paper in its broad and comprehensive sense, including all that is known, and that may yet be learned, of primitive man; especially in America.

Before considering the conditions and elements constituting Illinois an attractive field for archaeological research, it may be proper to briefly review the progress of American Archaeology, as a science, and its deduced conclusions.

The written history of Illinois began in 1673 with the canoe voyage of a fanatical Jesuit missionary and his companion down the Mississippi river, along the State's entire western border, then up the Illinois river, from its confluence with the Mississippi to its extreme source near Lake Michigan.

Illinois has an earlier—more ancient and yet unwritten—history extending from the dim, unknown past to that daring canoe voyage of Marquette and Joliet. The Rosetta Stone of patient investigation is now slowly but surely interpreting the confused object records of this antecedent history, and dissipating the mist that has so long obscured it.

The first Europeans in this region found it populated by roving tribes of savages having neither written language, fixed habitations, nor knowledge of their origin or ancestry. As civilization began to encroach upon this newly-discovered territory curious evidences of its long-continued occupancy, in the form of mounds, and other products of human agency, were observed, scattered over the hills and valleys, concerning which the natives were as profoundly ignorant as were the white invaders. The ignorance of the savages, in possession of the country, of any history of the strange antiquities, obviously of artificial construction, led to the conclusion that America had, at some period anterior to the coming of the Indians, been, for a long time, the home of an unknown people, differing widely from any known on the Eastern hemisphere, and as was until recently generally believed, also very different in racial characteristics from the red Indians found here.

By degrees, surprisingly slow, this conclusion was accepted by the public; but not without vigorous protests from many of the most advanced scholars of the day. Mr. Bancroft, in the introduction to his great History of the United States, expressed his skepticism of this belief, as follows: "In all ancient walls in the West, geology sees only crumbs of decaying sandstone clinging like mortar to blocks of greenstone, in parallel entrenchments, it discovers only a trough that subsiding water plowed; it explains all tessellated pavements as layers of pebbles aptly joined by water; it esteems all mounds as natural cones, and ascribes them to that Power which shaped the globe." About the time this was written a Minister from a foreign country to our government said contemptuously of this country, that it was only fit for

savages, having no ruins, or other antiquities to interest European tourists. The word "prehistoric" had not yet been coined when the first edition of Noah Webster's dictionary was issued; and that noted lexicographer then believed, with Dr. Franklin, and others, that all the western mounds had been made by DeSoto and his band of marauders.

The unmistakable vestiges of an archaic, wide-spread population were, however, too conspicuous and numerous to be satisfactorily accounted for by all the romance that embellished the wonderful march of De Soto. As the accumulated proofs of a former people could no longer be misconstrued, or denied, many theories were advanced to explain them. "In attempting to reconstruct the past," says Sir John Lubbock, "students have too often allowed imagination to usurp the place of research, and have written in the spirit of the novelist rather than in that of the philosopher." A very common propensity of mankind is to exaggerate the marvelous and magnify the mysterious; and to invoke imaginative and impossible causes in explanation of the apparently incomprehensible, when adequate causes, if earnestly sought for, might be found ready at hand. This tendency has been manifested, even by the learned, until recent years, in the many vague, and too often ludicrous, hypotheses, framed to reconstruct the history and life of the builders of the mounds, who left no trace of the route by which they came, or of how they disappeared.

The mystery of an unknown, vanished people so advanced in mechanical arts as to be capable of executing the works they left, was full of fascinating interest. They were generally believed to have been a distinct race, unlike and superior to the red Indians, who had attained a considerable degree of civilization, having a formulated religion and well-organized political government, ruled by a sovereign and court of oriental magnificence. They were thought to have flourished here for many centuries, and to have disappeared before the advent of the Indians: or by the incoming savages, overthrown and disbursed. There are intelligent persons who yet entertain this belief; and this class invariably write "mound-builders" with capital M. and B.

The researches of archaeologists within the last few decades have effectually dispelled such fanciful notions, and restored for our inspection the mound builders as they actually were in their highest stage of development. With more extended discoveries of their works, and careful analysis and comparison of their remains and arts, much of the mysticism and confusion that seemed to surround them has been removed, giving us a clearer view of their traits, and a more rational conception of their existence here. The conclusions reached regarding the true status of the Mound Builders may be summarized as follows: that America, from the Arctic regions to Terra del Fuego, was peopled by one race, the red Indians; excepting the Eskimos, who are probably an intrusive people of comparatively recent arrival. Consequently, the Mound Builders were simply Indians, and none of the remains of their industries and arts, either in magnitude, design or artistic perfection, are above the capabilities of the Indians encountered by De Soto early in the sixteenth century. The mounds and other prehistoric earthworks are merely signal stations, military defenses, tombs of the dead, or remains of Indian villages and settlements. The builders of the Mounds had made but slight approach to civilization, all indications proving their condition of society to have been as primitive and rude as that of known Indians. They had emerged from savagery, but had only reached the lower, or, at best, the middle status of barbarism. As all other barbarians, their social atmosphere was darkened and chilled with superstition. Their crude religious sentiments found expression in rites and practices of the grossest absurdity and cruelty. They made extraordinary sacrifices to propitiate mythical spirits; and entertained profound faith in a future existence of ease and sensual pleasure—but were not sufficiently enlightened to believe in future endless punishment. They had no knowledge of metals; not having discovered the fusibility of minerals—not even that of galena, the most readily fused of all of our economic ores. They utilized copper as a malleable stone, beating it into shape with other stones; and held hematite in high esteem as a stone possessing extraordinary virtues. In the domestic and industrial arts they had acquired high proficiency; particularly in manipulating stone, bone, shell and other substances; and in the

ceramic art, making pottery of exceeding excellence, in graceful, artistic and elegant forms. They were very expert in the fabrication of cords, nets, mats and closely woven cloth of vegetable fibers. Their esthetic perceptions were well displayed, not only in their pottery, but also in pipes, amulets and charms, often carved of the most refractory rocks, in strange and unique designs, and finely polished.

Of all the products of their industries those objects manufactured of enduring materials alone have survived to our era. A few remnants of their best houses, flimsily constructed of poles and canes, have been preserved buried in mounds; but their bows, arrow-shafts, and the numberless implements, utensils, tools and appliances; and also articles of dress and personal adornment, they made and used in profusion, of wood, bark, skins of animals and other substances that soon decayed, have long ago totally disappeared. Their arts of subsistence had progressed to the use of salt, and the cultivation of corn; from which it must be inferred they were no longer nomadic; nor yet, were they permanently sedentary; often changing their villages from one locality to another; probably with the changes of seasons, or movements of the wild animals, or fish, upon which they preyed. Their only domesticated animal was the dog—presumably a tamed wolf. The burdens and drudgery of domestic life—as is customary with all barbarians—fell to the lot of the females; the chief pursuits of the males, judging from the quantity and quality of their weapons and remains of their defenses, were war and the chase. In stature, features, and other physical characteristic, they were, with some exceptions, in all essential respects, identical with modern Indians. The hue of their skin is not definitely known, and no normal specimen of their hair has survived the destroying tooth of time; but the portraits they have transmitted to us on their pottery, and engraved on their pipes, accurately portray Indian features with coarse, straight hair.

Of their form of government we can, of course, know nothing; but have no reason for believing that it could have been more complicated in spirit or structure than that of the Iroquois, or Creeks; consisting of a confederation of tribes equal in council, and coherent for mutual defense, or predatory warfare; each tribe ruled by a chief, and organized by *gens* and *phratry* under subordinate chieftains.

The culture of the Mound building Indians was, beyond doubt, indigenous and a gradual evolution from a lower savage type. The period of time required for the inception and growth of this advancement is not certainly known; but the intrinsic evidences of the mounds and other remains do not warrant the extreme antiquity generally assigned them. The beginning of Mound building, with its concomitant culture, in the hydrographic basin of the Mississippi, can not be referred to a period more remote than five or six centuries ago; and it was continued for a little time after the discovery of the country by Europeans. There is no reason to doubt that the southern mound builders were the same stock of Indians found by our early pioneers in the middle and gulf states; and every element of fact and probability strengthens the conviction that the Indians who fiercely contested De Soto's progress were the immediate descendants of the builders of the mounds there; possessing and practicing, at that time, all the arts, customs, usages and superstitions of their ancestors. The ethnological distinctions between the mound builders and wild, nomadic savages that surrounded and in some localities supplanted them, consisted not so much in ethnic or racial divergencies as in degree of advanced culture. The one branch of the race progressed, by the development of their innate capabilities, through long periods of peace, to the first, or second, plane of Barbarism, while the other, retaining their wandering instincts, and continually at war, remained in their primitive condition of degraded savagery.

They all from the most remote times to the introduction of iron among them by Europeans, employed practically the same industrial arts and methods of life; manufacturing very much the same weapons, tools and pottery, of the same materials and in the same way. Consequently, it is impossible to make any reliable distinction between the moveable artefacts of prehistoric

Indians who built mounds and those of the Indians who were not mound builders. All the aborigines of this region were, then, of the same race, and, inferentially, sprung from the same origin.

Whence came they? is the question next suggested. A great variety of opinions, sustained by few tangible facts, have been offered in answer to this inquiry. The distribution of species, including *genus homo*, over the world, is beset with many perplexing and insuperable difficulties in the way of its complete reconciliation with the legend of Noah's Ark. Some learned Anthropologists, relying on generally accepted potentiality of Deity, have believed the Indian to be indigenous; a true autochthon and product of independent local creation. But Biology has proclaimed the dogma of unity of the human family to be infallible, and decreed the primeval American an exotic. It has been gravely surmised by some that he descended from an antediluvian tribe that miraculously escaped the deluge. Others have found scriptural proof that his progenitors were the lost tribes of Israel; and, in the extravagance of unreasoning conjecture, the Indian's origin has been attributed to almost every ancient nation of Europe, Asia, Africa, Polynesia and the fabled Atlantis. Another hypothesis, not without some sanction of science, supposes the first peopling of America to have been made by voluntary, or tempest-tossed, immigrants from various countries, east and west, who commingling here, isolated from the balance of the world, by the influence of dietary, climatic and topographical environments, in the course of long ages, crystallized into the distinctive race of American red men—a process now being repeated, though under more favorable conditions and with promises of higher results, by the present heterogeneous mixture of diverse peoples on this continent.

All these speculations, however, have little more solid basis of demonstrable facts than had the theory of pious old Cotton Mather, who believed the Indians were originally Europeans, "seduced over here by the devil to keep them out of the sound of the silver trumpets of the Gospel." After all, the Indian's origin remains an inscrutable mystery; yet, students of American archaeology are not disposed, as was Sir Francis Palgrave, to "give up that speechless past," and exclaim, in despair, "lost is lost; gone is gone forever," but rather will, in the spirit of our own immortal Lincoln, keep on "pegging away," at this discouraging problem until every possible clue has been exhausted.

The most sanguine investigator may not expect to discover here, in Illinois, many legible traces of the Indian's origin, but he will find here for study a field rich in prehistoric archaeology, yet slightly disturbed, save by relic-hunting vandals. What revelations it may contain, in decipherable records, of early migrations, mutations and successions of Indian tribes; of their various modes of life and degrees of culture; of their different mortuary customs and mythology; of their ethnological characteristics and advancement in arts, and their progress to a higher and better social condition, are yet to be ascertained—not by far-fetched theorizing, but by the pick and shovel of the careful explorer. Within the limits of Illinois are remains of the mound building Indians, as numerous and varied in form, design and dimensions, and, no doubt, as replete with tantalizing interest, as may be found in any other state in the Mississippi valley. The vicinity of streams and lakes were the favorite haunts and abiding places of the red men for ages past; and there—near the shore of Lake Michigan: on the river bluffs from Dunleith to Cairo, from Chicago to Grafton, along the Ohio, the Wabash, Kaskaskia, Vermilion, Kankakee, Sangamon and other lesser water courses of the State—are the vestiges of their camp sites and villages, and the graves and tumuli of their dead, awaiting the searching scrutiny of the astute archaeologist.

In the valley of Rock river, as far down as Kishwaukee, in Winnebago county, is a class of curious earthworks known as "Effigy" mounds, supposed to represent figures of the human form and of birds, quadrupeds, reptiles and nondescript objects. Some of them were projected on a gigantic scale, exceeding four hundred feet in length. There is one in the city of Rockford, locally known as the "Turtle Mound," preserved from mutilation in private grounds, described by Judge James Shaw, in the fifth volume of Illinois Geological Survey Reports, as being "150 feet long by 50 feet in width behind its front

legs, and resembles an alligator with its head cut off more than it does a turtle." These eccentric structures of earth enclose no buried relics or human remains, and are thought to have simply represented tribal totems. The Rockford "turtle" may have been thrown up there as a stationary totem of the Lizard *gens*, and its head, now wanting, was probably fashioned as a Council house, or chief's residence, of perishable materials that time has long since reduced to dust. Emblematical mounds of this class are limited to the State of Wisconsin and the Rock river extension in this State, the only known exceptions, as stated by Prof. Cymus Thomas of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, "being two or three in Ohio and two in Georgia." The recent Dakota Indians had a somewhat analogous custom of forming figures of men, women, animals and unknown objects, in outline, on the prairies, with convenient drift boulders placed contiguously, to commemorate important events, or to communicate their movements to others of the tribe passing that way. Effigies of this kind—if they can be termed effigies—involved the expenditure of but little time or labor, and were obviously not tribal symbols.

There is no one phase of American archaeology, confined to a space so circumscribed, and, apparently the work of a single tribe, as anomalous and inexplicable as the effigy mounds of Wisconsin and Rock river valley. Rev. Stephen D. Peet has reported the discovery, near Mendon, in Adams county, of a "Serpent mound," or rather, of a series of small mounds, uniform in size, placed in such consecutive order and so connected as to represent the figure of a serpent; and infers that the authors of this work were addicted to serpent worship. The serpent has occupied a conspicuous place in the mythology of all savages. It was, says General Thurston, in his *Antiquities of Tennessee*, a favorite totem with the ancient stone grave race of that state. It was very prominent in the worship of the early Mexican nations, and is yet in certain religious ceremonies of the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico; but we have not, so far, sufficient evidence to warrant the belief that prehistoric Indians of this locality were worshipers of the serpent—or, indeed, of anything else. Few sections of our country, between the Rocky mountains and the Appalachian chain, surpass in antiquarian interest the district extending from this city, Peoria, to the mouth of the Illinois river, and on down to that of the Ohio. Here the aborigines revelled amidst the spontaneous productions of the prolific soil, and were bountifully supplied with fish in great variety from the rivers and the choicest game from the forests and prairies. The sublime landscapes viewed from every peak and ridge of the bluffs must have touched and awakened the esthetic sentiment in the savage, and tended to mollify his brutal instincts. Throughout its entire extent the district mentioned is strewn with numberless remains of a dense population; or, more probably, of successive invasions of different tribes, continued for indefinite periods of time. Mounds of various forms are scattered all through it; and it has yielded to curiosity-mongers and relic hunters many thousands of primitive art remains of great value. Indians, differing in habits and customs, have occupied it, but in what chronological order remains yet to be determined.

In the misty past, a colony of the stone grave tribes, presumably from the vallon of the Cumberland, appeared in Illinois near the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and gradually spread from there northward to the present county of Monroe, where they halted for a time, and then crossed the Mississippi and settled about the present sites of St. Genevieve, Florissant and Fenton, in Missouri. They marked their trail well by their peculiar manner of burying their dead in stone cists, or graves lined and covered with thin, rough flag stones; generally separately, sometimes collectively and enclosed in mounds of earth. A few scattered graves of this description have been observed as far north as the Sangamon river, and are quite numerous at several points in the southern portion of the State. The osseous and art remains preserved in the Illinois stone graves are, in the main, identical with those taken from similarly constructed graves of the ancient cemeteries in and around Nashville, Tennessee, proving satisfactorily the unity of the Indians who practiced this custom of burying their dead. Plates of thin hammered copper have been found in ordinary stone graves in southern Illinois, with strange masked human figures impressed upon them, similar to those

from the Etowah mound in Georgia, and so manifestly of typical Central American art as to suggest contact, at some time, of Illinois stone grave people with the ancient semi civilization of the far south. An impressed copper plate bearing the spirited image of an eagle was found some years ago in a mound near this city (Peoria) by Major Powell, director of the U. S. Ethnological Bureau, executed in a style of art wholly foreign to that of the most advanced mound builders.

In the upper part of the American Bottom, opposite the city of St. Louis; fifty miles above the stone grave cemeteries on or near the bluffs in Monroe county, was the remarkable settlement of another branch of the precolumbian Indian race. They were the builders of so-called "Temple" mounds. Their chief work here, the great Cahokia mound, the largest memorial of prehistoric Indian life in the United States, is 97 feet in height, with a base 700 feet in length by 500 feet in width, covering an excess of six acres, and comprising in its solid contents 1,076,000 cubic yards of earth, the greater part of which was taken from the bluffs, three miles distant. This huge monument is surrounded by a group of 61 smaller mounds, ranging in size from 50 to 400 feet in diameter, and in altitude, from 15 to 60 feet. Fifteen miles east of this grand assemblage of mounds, on the border of the high, open prairie in St. Clair county, is one of the most beautiful and symmetrical mounds in the State, known locally as the "Emerald mound." It is a truncated pyramid with square base, each side 225 feet in length, 40 feet in elevation, and its level top, conforming exactly with its base, is 150 feet square. Time has dealt leniently with this handsome structure, as, unlike the Cahokia mound, all its lines and angles are yet sharp, regular and well preserved. A few yards distant from its north and east angles respectively, is a smaller circular mound with flat top, and 800 feet from its west angle is a long ridge-like, or oval elevation, apparently artificial and perhaps sepulchral.

In this splendid system of ancient earthworks—comprising nearly 200 mounds within an area of twenty-five miles square—there is an identity of type with the mounds of eastern Arkansas, Mississippi and the Etowah group in Georgia. There is also an identity of art type in the pottery, and other domestic relics, found about them all, suggesting the inference that their authors were the same people.

The sixteen large flint spades, polished at their edges by long use, found buried together near the base of Emerald mound when excavating for a house foundation; the amazing deposit of finely chipped flint spades and neatly finished "notched" flint hoes exhumed when grading a railroad bed about where the business center of East St. Louis is now; the artistic pottery; fine, polished stone implements, shell beads, and tortoise shells and parts of the lower jaws of the deer with incisor teeth intact, and other objects, exquisitely plated with thin sheets of copper, almost rivaling modern gilding, well attest the culture of the Cahokia mound builders and their industrial progress. The erection of this multitude of stupendous earthen monuments bespeaks a large population here for a great length of time, yet, so far, no cemeteries, graves or other depositories of their dead have been discovered, nor any remains indicating the practice of cremation. How they disposed of those who died is a mystery, but it may be that some of the stately tumuli of the number, when probed by the experienced archaeologist, will disclose this secret they have securely guarded for ages.

There are yet other questions awaiting solution, concerning the Indians of the American Bottom who made stone-lined graves, and those who built large platform mounds. Did the same Indians construct both? If the same people, it remains to be explained why no great platform mounds were raised near the stone cist cemeteries in Monroe county, and why no stone graves are seen in the vicinity of the Cahokia mounds. If not the same people, were they cognate, or allied tribes? If distinct and different tribes, were they contemporaneous in Illinois? If not, which had priority in this territory, and why was each restricted to well-defined limits?

The question, What has Illinois to invite archaeological research? may be adequately answered by the single statement that not one of the vast group of Cahokia mounds has yet been systematically explored.

The valley of the Illinois river, from its prairie banks, about Starved rock, to the Mississippi, was at a very early date in possession of a yet different branch of the native American race; whose mode of mound building, and manner of disposing of their dead, plainly connect them with the Mound building tribes of Ohio. Here we meet with the so-called "Altar" mounds, usually on low, alluvial bottoms; and the "platform" pipes and finely-wrought implements and ornaments of copper. Here also have been found those extraordinary propitiatory offerings to their evil, or guardian spirits. It has been the fortune of the writer in his limited explorations in this territory, to discover astonishing deposits of dark colored, or black, flint disks, each from three to eight inches in diameter, under conditions that leave no doubt of their sacrificial intent. At the base of a mound on Paint creek, in Ross county, Ohio, a deposit of similar flints was unearthed in 1847 by Messrs. Squier and Davis, and subsequently, on further search, by Prof. W. K. Moorehead, which aggregated 8,185 in number. Buried in the bank of the Illinois river, at Beardstown, were found 1,500 well finished disks of black hornstone, closely laid together, a few feet below the surface. A deposit of 3,500 similar flints was, sometime before, uncovered four miles above on the opposite side of the river. Two very large mounds, side by side, on the alluvial bottom, in Brown county, were opened, and at the base of the one were found 6,199 oval disks of glossy black flint; and at the bottom of the other the enormous number of 5,316 completely finished lance-shaped implements, from three to eight inches in length, of the same black flint. This stone is nowhere found *in situ* in Illinois; but occurs in southeastern Indiana, and in portions of Kentucky. These buried flints therefore must have been transported by canoe down the Ohio and up the Mississippi and Illinois rivers for the special purpose of final interment on the banks of the latter stream. "If they were placed there as an offering," says Mr. Squier, "we can form some estimate, in view of the facts that they must have been brought from a great distance and fashioned with great toil, of the devotional fervor which induced the sacrifice, or the magnitude of the calamity which that sacrifice was perhaps intended to avert."

As is well known, the mound-building Indians maintained a far-reaching system of commerce, or barter, with distant tribes. In their sepulchral mounds on the Illinois river—as elsewhere—occur marine shells from the Gulf of Mexico, or the ocean; copper from Lake Superior; catlinite from the pipe-stone ledges of Minnesota; obsidian from New Mexico, or the Rocky mountains; mica from North Carolina, and hematite and galena from southeast Missouri, or the upper Mississippi. The Illinois river "Altar" mounds examined were certainly very old; but further investigation will be required to determine their relative age in comparison with that of other systems of mounds on the Mississippi, and in other parts of the State. At the time of their erection their builders had not yet become adepts in the ceramic art, the few pottery vessels found, with the original deposits, being coarse, rude and without decoration. The human skeletons among the primal burials in these mounds exhibited anatomical characteristics of very low order. Their crania were *brachycephalic*, comporting, in that respect with the American Indian type generally—though, in the Illinois mounds, skulls of ancient Indians are met with of all the various forms—*brachycephalic*, *dolichocephalic*, *orthocephalic*, etc., and having wide variation of facial angles. The builders of these mounds had low, retreating foreheads, with enormous supraorbital ridges; prognathous jaws; perforations of the humerus; elongated coccyx and platycnemism of the tibiae. They were ape-like and hideous, but exceedingly skillful artisans.

Our early pioneer settlers in the southern portion of the State were surprised by seeing evidences there of salt production, on an extensive scale, by crude processes conducted doubtless by the Indians in prehistoric times. All about the saline springs—particularly in Gallatin county—were fragments of huge, shallow, earthenware vessels, partially buried in the soil accumulations, associated with fire-scarred stones and ordinary camp refuse; indicating that the method of obtaining salt had been by evaporation of the saline water of the springs by the agency of heated stones. Near by the springs were the cemeteries of the ancient salt makers, where they deposited the remains of their dead in stone-lined graves, thereby identifying them as of the tribes with whom that mode of burial was an ethnic custom. Similar fragmentary salt-

pans of coarse pottery ware, burnt stones, and, near by, the mortuary stone cists, have been left as a record of this industry, by the same Indians in the vicinity of Saline springs at St. Genevieve, Missouri, Nashville, Tennessee, and in other localities. The use of salt was with the early Indians an acquired taste, borrowed perhaps with the use of corn, beans, etc., from Central America, or the Pueblos of the southwest. The Pottawattamies, and in fact all the Indians north and west of Lake Michigan, when first seen by French explorers, regarded salt with great disgust, as a poison; and the nomads of the western plains and Rocky mountains were ignorant of its use as late as the expeditions of General Fremont and the Mexican war.

Mr. Clarence B. Moore has reported the examination of a mound—one among many—on St. John's river, in Florida, covering thirty-five acres, and eighty feet in height, composed of river shells, the refuse of Indian feasting. There, fluvial mollusks, as well as marine shell-fish, were an important article of Indian diet. Shell heaps of modest proportions are occasionally seen on some of our Illinois streams, but are very rare. Mussels may have been used for subsistence sparingly by the early Indians here in times of great scarcity of other foods, but it is more probable that the few shell heaps observed in this State are the refuse of Indian pearl hunters. All such accumulations of shells on our river banks should be carefully examined for implements, or other remains that possibly may determine their age and purpose.

The prehistoric antiquities of the Wabash watershed, in Illinois, when critically examined, may contribute many new facts in elucidation of some of our obscure archaeological problems. There is a broad and interesting field for antiquarian research in that quarter of the State and also in the valleys of the Kaskaskia, Sangamon and other central water courses of the State, as yet only known to the vandal and mercenary relic hunter.

Another question much agitated in scientific circles a few years ago, and not yet eliminated from controversial antiquarian literature, awaits the practical investigation of Illinois archaeologists. Claims have been made of finding in the glacial drift underlying Chicago flint implements of the true palaeolithic age; implying the presence there of Man during the glacial or interglacial epochs. Ancient moraines and other glacial deposits are predominant features of our surface geology all over the State, offering an inexhaustible field for palaeolithic search. Primitive Man in America, it is now generally conceded, had attained the neolithic stage of stone art at the time of his first arrival here. It remains to be seen by the diligent scientist of the future if the clay and gravel beds of Illinois are concealing testimony that will reverse this view, and carry the primeval American back to the immensely distant period of the Quaternary deposits.

While the multitudes of undisturbed, and undiscovered, remains of aboriginal tribes in Illinois constitute the State a most alluring and promising field for archaeological study, it may be pertinent to ask, what has Illinois done to investigate and preserve its antiquities? By its legislative authority, absolutely nothing, beyond the expenditure of a few hundreds of dollars for the purchase of the McAdams collection of Indian relics, which, with commendable liberality, was divided between the show room at the State Capitol and the State University. And the portion of this received by the university comprises about all the exhibit of Illinois archaeology in its museum. At no time has the State, by any official act, taken the slightest cognizance of the marvelous remains of its prehistoric inhabitants; or, in any manner, given aid or encouragements to citizens interested in their interpretation and preservation. We turn to the magnificent Reports of the (twenty-four years) Geological Survey of our State, and find there two or three pages devoted to its antiquities, from which we learn that ninety per cent of the mounds are natural elevations—"outliers of the drift formation!"

Secular critics arraign our sectarian philanthropists with inconsistency in expending large sums for missionary service abroad, and ignoring the vice, crime and depravity rampant in the very shadows of their churches here at home. A few of the great, wealthy institutions of learning in Illinois are amendable to an analogous indictment, for sending well-equipped exploring parties to the far Northwest, to Central and South America, and other remote

corners of the earth, to study archaic man and his arts, and totally overlooking one of the richest fields for this study at their very doors. Ohio has surveyed its ancient earthen monuments, and has an accurate map, and descriptions of them, almost completed. New York has, by liberal appropriations, through the medium of its state university, provided for full descriptive catalogues of its antiquities; and in Georgia, Wisconsin, Florida and Tennessee this task has been admirably done by learned citizens without state aid. In Illinois no systematic archaeological work has yet been undertaken, and the field is too vast to be thoroughly explored by individual enterprise. This can only be accomplished by the united efforts of our educational institutions or by the State.

VIII.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES—THEIR FIELD OF WORK AND THEIR
RELATION TO THE STATE SOCIETY.

By Captain J. H. Burnham.

It requires considerable courage for the members of this society to take a look at the wide field for labor which opens so appealingly to our sight. In the first place, who can point out just how much historical research has been accomplished, or if this is partially shown, who can lead us forth to see the immense depth and breadth of the work yet remaining for willing hands? Several volumes of our State's early and modern history have been written, and they are of inestimable value. Other volumes of the expeditions of the early French explorers and missionaries are in circulation, but the half has not been told in either of these spheres of historical investigation, or in that other equally alluring field of archaeology.

We have reason to believe that much important matter still remains to be translated from the archives of French ecclesiastical, military and civil reports, while other documents may yet be discovered giving new facts regarding the British occupation, to say nothing of the difficult subject of the history of our own modern Illinois Indians. But the work that is uncompleted along these lines will yet be attended to by able scholars; and members of our own society are quite likely to perform their full share.

Critical scholars of our own, or kindred societies in the Northwest, may be trusted to unearth and classify the new facts of our archaeological or early colonial history, but the more common, and less fascinating study of our later history, including the marvelous development of our modern civilization, must be carried on and perfected generally through the employment of plodding ordinary investigators, unstimulated by great love of historic lore, or by any thorough appreciation of the beauty of any theories of historical development, and perhaps unprepared by any special preparation for the work in hand.

It is almost impossible for those of us who would like to make plans for carrying forward this line of modern and local historical investigation and development, to understand exactly what has already been accomplished in the way of published Illinois history. We are aware of the great value of our State histories, even if we realize as fully what are their greatest imperfections, but we do not appreciate as we ought, to what extent our pioneer, war, ecclesiastical and civil history has already been placed within the reach of those most interested. An examination of the books in the library of the Chicago Historical Society, and of those in our own State Historical Library will show that already a very large amount of this material has been gathered, so large that it takes more than a casual look at these published volumes to see that a vast amount of work remains to be accomplished, a labor which can probably only be done under the lead of a State society, thoroughly organized, reaching all portions of the State, and reaching them, quite possibly, in some sort of a semi-official manner, possibly as a legal adjunct of our State Historical Library, possibly through some agency yet to be discovered and put in operation.

These historical publications of local interest are of various types and styles. They are mostly of a commercial character, written and published as money-

makers, so that they may be generally called commercial histories. Some are county, town, or city histories. Many are biographical albums or biographical dictionaries, while some of them are valuable publications and can well be taken as our guides and models. They are quite apt, however, to be shaped entirely to suit the buyer or payer, and are not generally entitled to take high rank as historical authority. Still, on the shelves of the Chicago Historical Library, and in our State Historical Library, these works have been largely collected, and such as they are, they are of value and must be considered as the beginning of our State's local history. It is highly important for us to know the full value of this published historical material, and if the Chicago Historical Society and the trustees of our State Historical Library can co-operate in furnishing an accurate list of such works as now exist, we shall be very materially assisted in finding our historical bearings, so to speak, and learning where it is best to begin our labor with a view to immediately securing what is most important to be rescued from oblivion.

If we stop to consider some few of the salient points to be covered by a local history, such as will meet the demands of modern times, impartially and fairly written, we shall see how far very many of these published works fall short of being what the public should have access to, and how much remains to be accomplished by our society, or by other agencies.

A county, or other local history covering much territory, should not only treat of its topography and geography, but should fairly develop its natural history, its trees, grasses and flowers as they existed in a state of nature; its birds, animals, insects and fishes; its soils, its geology and its political divisions with their origin and with all the later civil and political changes.

Nothing is more attractive to the general public than the military and political history of a community, and the best of its patriotic record should be carefully furnished, including the names of all the soldiers of the war of 1812, if the county be in southern Illinois; the volunteers in all of the Indian wars, the Mormon, Mexican, Civil and Spanish-American Wars, with well written accounts of the most daring and heroic acts of these soldiers. These military records will generally be found the very best foundations on which to build a county demand for a county history, and on this foundation, even at this late day, may often be discovered the nucleus of an interest in local history. In the state of Wisconsin, the law recognizes the state organizations of the order of the Loyal Legion, the Grand Army of the Republic, the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, and other patriotic organizations, as auxiliaries of the State Historical Society, and we should carefully consider whether we can in some manner follow this example. We are just beginning to enter on the period when the thrilling deeds of the 200,000 patriotic volunteers of the civil war are being appreciated by the rising generation. Illinois soldiers from city and country served nearly all over the theater of that gigantic struggle, and heroes of the Potomac, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, and most of our historic battlefields may be found throughout the Prairie State.

In some of our counties, we must admit, the elements for a thoroughly interesting history, outside of the pioneer history which we find everywhere do not always exist, but nearly every neighborhood had its gallant heroes of our civil war, and the records of their deeds, which should be conscientiously prepared, will go far towards filling out the local history of each of the townships, cities, villages or counties of our patriotic State. Not only can we thus make up the record of each county's share in the great struggle, but only thus can the nation's complete history be obtained, for Illinois has perhaps the proudest war record of any state in the union.

"Not without thy wondrous story,
 Illinois, Illinois,
 Can be writ the Nation's glory.
 Illinois, Illinois,
 On the record of thy years,
 Abraham Lincoln's name appears.
 Grant and Logan and our tears,
 Illinois, Illinois."

Biographies of a country's most eminent statesmen, legislators, or politicians must not be omitted, and in addition, particular emphasis should be

given to the lives of its most worthy and heroic people, even if such persons have not been successful as the world counts success. The well written life of a true man or a true woman is an inspiration to the rising generation, and goes far toward inducing a spirit of contentment in the minds of the honest poor who constitute the bed-rock of all our best communities.

Pictures of pioneers, of brave soldiers, of early houses, and of anything which will help show the varying phases of our early and later civilizations must be liberally secured. All that can be told of its past settlers should be gleaned, their origin traced, and the main sources of leading emigrations plainly pointed out. Its mines, its improved swamps, its leveed rivers, its manufactories, its schools and colleges, its churches, its clubs and societies, its various crops, all of its means of material wealth, the history of the development of that wealth, and the various improvements in agriculture and mechanical processes, all should be carefully written.

The early French colonists made their living partly by hunting and partly by a rude form of agriculture, which barely hinted at the almost fabulous fertility of our soil; while the early American settlers utilized these vast prairies by grazing large herds of cattle. These changed conditions were followed at a later date by the introduction of plows that would polish in our sticky soils, by the improved agricultural implements which have magically revolutionized farming within the memory of men now living, and which, with our railroads, have been the main causes of all our modern prosperity. Faithful portrayals of these wonderful results should be furnished from every portion of this great State, and should form an important part of the local history of almost every agricultural community therein.

Such sketches will also indicate the conditions which have taken place by the change from steam-boating to railroading. These sketches will show how Galena was reduced from its proud position of being the great steamboat headquarters of the Northwest; how Hennepin, Naples and Meredosia on the Illinois river lost their former supremacy, and how New Boston and Oquawka on the Mississippi have had to share the same fate.

The field of work for local historical societies is too large and too diversified to allow more than a glance at some of its many features. Such societies, when properly managed, and well supported by public opinion, can do much to enliven the monotony of life in our smaller communities. Their meetings can occasionally be made of great public interest, while they can always be the means, through appropriate papers and discussions, of putting into print or filing for future use the fleeting records of the past. The newspapers are generally glad to publish the most important papers, or an abstract of the discussions, thus spreading broadcast the results of the labors of those who are most active in collecting such materials as ought to be preserved for local history.

Such societies can suggest the celebration of anniversary events, and when they occur can take the lead in their appropriate observance. They can inaugurate and carry through occasional field meetings or old settlers' picnics, always taking care to put into written form what is now too apt to be a mere entertainment for the moment, saving to posterity the very valuable reminiscences which are usually listened to but not permanently recorded on such occasions.

As the sources of our early and later immigrations are so distinct and separate, bringing to Illinois many nationalities and races of men, speaking different languages and living in different degrees of cultivation, we may confidently look here for a new civilization, a different kind of society, and its origin and sources will some time be carefully studied. It is our duty to furnish future students of social life with all possible material for its study, and this can be done only by a very careful attention to the details of the origin of our immigration. Illinois has absorbed for several generations good society from the East, the North and the South. We see here representatives of the best society of twenty different states, with the cultivated sons and daughters of a dozen different European nations. These have made their homes here, bringing with them manners and customs as various as their differing nationalities. How natural that there should grow up a social sys-

tem culled from the best of the different standards! How easy to form here a model for future generations yet unborn! Here we find the courtly Southerner, the careful Easterner, the thrifty New Yorker, the staid Quaker, meeting in one social family; and the result would naturally be what we claim, a new society, more pleasant than either, with the best social ethics of all, mingled in one common fountain from which will flow the elements of the best society in the world. The Illinois of the future may not only be the geographical center of the nation, but it may become the center of social influence and wealth, and the radiating center of political power and political influence. How important, therefore, will be its past, present and future history to the millions of its distant and highly intelligent future generations!

This enumeration is not intended to be considered as complete or exhaustive, but rather to give a few samples of the topics and subjects to be investigated and recorded, to be varied according to circumstances, and to be enlarged upon in all cases. Enough has been said to indicate that probably very few of the so-called commercial histories have thoroughly covered the historic field. It therefore may be taken for granted that an enormous amount of careful work remains to be performed, and it is left for us to discuss some of the means which may profitably be employed to carry forward the great work in which our State society may hope to take the lead, but a work which should become popularized by the assistance of all good citizens in every portion of our fair State. Fortunately we are led to believe that the present great revival of interest in history may be a most opportune time for a hearty public response to the urgent request for local organization which it is our duty to send out to every nook and corner of Illinois.

There are in the State of Illinois 102 counties. Of these 19 are under what is called the county commissioner system, mostly in southern Illinois, containing 158 organized road districts, which are generally equivalent to, or identical with, voting precincts, but with such a changeable and loose organization that they can hardly be called political units, and in these counties we must probably refer all historical investigation to the county itself. There are 82 counties, comprising much the larger part of the State, which are known as township organization counties, containing 1,292 different townships, each of which may well be called the unit to be considered in all local historical investigations. Cook county has a peculiar organization, partaking of both of the other county systems, and contains 33 townships, besides the great city of Chicago. Within all of these counties and townships may be found about five hundred cities and incorporated villages with their own legal boundaries, which in many cases must be considered as the units to be organized instead of the towns and counties. Adding together all of the counties and townships, excluding cities and villages and the voting precincts, we find not less than 1437 counties and townships, within which, but not besides which, are the aforesaid 158 voting precincts and five hundred cities and villages.

The pioneer history of this large State, its Mormon, Mexican, Civil and Spanish war history, its political, ecclesiastical and natural history will never be completely and systematically gathered and arranged until all of these varying communities have been reached by some system of organization which will embrace them all within its capacious folds. The work of overseeing the proper organization of these various civil units which go to make up our great State, is one which may well call for the united wisdom of this society, with all of the friends it can induce to join in the good cause. I have counted and grouped these units in order to assist in comprehension of the subject in hand, and not with the idea that the business can be organized and carried out by any hard and fast rule, as we shall probably learn in time that the end desired must be attained through a great diversity of methods, and by a variety of differing organizations.

A good beginning has already been made in this great field of labor. The Chicago Historical Society, of which I am proud to say I am a corresponding member, has performed a noble work. It has a magnificent fire-proof building in the city of Chicago, costing \$175,000 besides cost of the lot. It has covered

a great field of original investigation, including the entire northwest, and particularly the State of Illinois. It has touched here and there the vast field of local history in this State outside of Chicago, but it is precisely because it has only been able to touch it here and there, that a necessity exists for the organization we are just now considering. There are a few, perhaps half a dozen, county or other local historical societies in this State, which are beginning to do what is needed to be done in all of the local political units under consideration.

Besides the great Chicago society before mentioned, we have the historical societies of the counties of Vermilion, Adams, Jersey, McLean and Champaign, the New England Society of Rockford, the Scientific Society at Elgin, and the Illinois Historical Club at Canton, all engaged wholly, or in part, in gathering up the local history of their cities and counties, or immediate neighborhoods; while at certain places we are given to understand that various clubs, societies or individuals are all ready to enter enthusiastically upon the work to be inaugurated by the Illinois State Historical Society. The problem before us is: How shall we proceed to direct the full energies of this society?

At the outset I will frankly say that I have stated a question far, far beyond my own ability to answer. I doubt if there is an individual living who is able to give it a suitable answer. I will go farther, and will say that I fear that the united wisdom of this whole society is unable at present to frame a complete answer. The most that I can hope to do is to furnish a few feeble suggestions which may cause a discussion among ourselves, a discussion which should lead to practical results, and which may set in motion forces to grow in power with the increase of this society, and the growth of public opinion and interest, until in the end those who come after us may see a final solution of what to us now seems a question entirely too large for our immediate comprehension.

One of the results of our attendance at this meeting should be the preparation of quite a list of names of persons, societies or clubs in different parts of this State known to be interested in the local history of their own neighborhoods. This list should be enlarged from time to time by our own officers and as rapidly as possible. These officers, or some appropriate committee, should immediately issue an address to the people of this State, to be published in all of its newspapers, urging the formation of local historical societies, and this address, accompanied by a suggestive circular with an appropriate form for organization, should be sent to the list of clubs, societies or persons known to be interested in this work, and they should be requested and urged to take whatever steps may be deemed appropriate to organize their own township, city or county, or districts of counties, into such a society as may best be suited to the end in view.

Under the impetus to be given the good work as a result of this meeting and the immediate efforts of this society, supplemented by the influence of their own local and interesting Indian, French, Colonial or early State history, it is safe to assume that such large counties as LaSalle, Peoria, Madison, St. Clair, Will, and Sangamon can soon report an efficient county historical society, ready and willing to aid our State society and to become its auxiliary. Smaller counties like Jo Daviess, Morgan Pike, Macoupin, Rock Island, Livingston, Winnebago, Hancock, Bureau, Knox, Ogle, Macon, Coles and Iroquois, and many others of similar size and character, may be just as likely to become as deeply interested and to be the first to form the desired local organizations. In many counties there is already a deep interest in this work, as well as a large amount of historical material at hand, and we may find that smaller counties, compactly organized, with interests greatly centralized, like Randolph, Monroe and Menard, with their wealth of local history, may prove to be the first to organize and the easiest to be aroused to a lively zeal in this important enterprise. Scott, Carroll, Stephenson, Kankakee, Edgar, Warren, Logan, McDonough, and several others, are also examples of counties with interests so pleasantly centralized that their people can readily coöperate in almost any enterprise that is plainly to the interest of the entire public.

There is, however, a class of counties of which we have several examples, which I prefer not to name, where county seat dissensions or other disquieting questions continue to vex the people so that we must expect to wait for more auspicious seasons before looking for harmonious and cheerful coöperation under county organizations, and in these, as in some other places, we may reasonably expect that much work can be accomplished through the medium of township, village or city organizations. Then there are several small counties, like Putnam, Calhoun, Massac, Hardin, Pulaski, and several others of larger territory with a very low real estate valuation, like Johnson, Pope, Saline, and unfortunate Gallatin, with its wealth of political history, where we can not reasonably look for the response that can be given by more fortunately situated districts. As the greatest good of any prosperous community is found by assisting its weakest members, it is reasonable to believe that our wealthy and populous commonwealth, will sooner or later subserve its own interests by taking steps to assist the poorer counties, if their financial inability to carry on this work is fully demonstrated.

But before we decide that such a step will ever be necessary we must try all possible efforts to organize and pursue this work by other means. For instance, Calhoun county, one of the weakest counties from its territorial situation has usually been districted for congressional, legislative, and judicial purposes, with the county of Pike, and the people of these two counties fraternize so completely that it might be perfectly agreeable for them to consolidate their interests in one society. Little Putnam could perhaps, easily unite with its pleasant neighbor, Marshall county. The small counties of Brown and Schuyler, separated only by a narrow stream and accustomed for a half a century to act together on nearly all questions, could perhaps easily organize and act together for the purpose under consideration. Alexander, Pulaski and Union at the southern extremity of Illinois, each small and weak, thrown together by necessity in district organizations, and having had their local history in part, once published in the same volume, might find it easy to go forward and carry out the suggestions to be made by this society. These illustrations might be carried further, but enough has been said to show that by the well directed energy of the friends of this society, together with the best efforts of interested citizens of all parts of our State, including even our most sparsely settled districts, and by the use of all the means available, it is entirely possible to see the whole state well organized into local historical societies suitable to the purposes designed.

Let us exert ourselves for one year to the utmost, and if, at the end of our first year, we can show progress in organization commensurate with the importance of the subject, and can demonstrate our society's ability to grapple fully with this problem, it will then be time enough, at our next annual meeting to formulate a request to the legislature, to give us material assistance and legal authority to go forward and fill in the gaps still left in the large list of cities, towns and counties, to be finally reached.

We can not help regarding the State Historical Society of Wisconsin as a model society, and its example can be wisely followed in almost every particular. That society as is well known, has been one of the most successful in the United States, yet its field of historical work, is not fully covered. The need of more perfect organization caused the passage of a state law two years ago, providing for the organization of local societies which shall be auxiliary to the State Society, and as its constitution allows these local societies to be represented in all general meetings of the parent society by one delegate, it will be seen that the whole state can thus be made to feel an integral interest in the work now being carried on so nobly by that great society, and which it is our ambition to see initiated in Illinois.

Whether we shall wait for legislation next winter, and then attempt to follow the example of Wisconsin in the other particulars which can not be enumerated here, or whether we shall proceed to act vigorously during this year, and ask for legislation later, are questions which I shall not attempt to answer, but it is my opinion that we should enthusiastically act at once according to our best ability, demonstrate that we have some appreciation of the importance of our cause, and proceed at the same time to devise a

scheme that will eventually call for a moderate amount of assistance from the State government, and that we hold our next annual meeting at Springfield, soon after the opening of the next session of the Legislature.

One of the methods followed by the Wisconsin Society, has been through the aid of the State Superintendent, who is, by law designated as special commissioner to "collect such local historical and biographical material as may be considered valuable," for preservation in its library. Very good results have followed from this action, which is of very recent origin. In the cities of Boston and Philadelphia a good beginning has been made by the organization of local school history clubs, and an idea of the scope of their work can be formed from the following questions sent out to the schools of Philadelphia:

"Are there any historic houses or places in your section? What streets in your section are named for distinguished men? What distinguished men or women were born, have resided or are buried or now living in your section? Has your section been connected in any way with incidents of the colonial period, with any event of historic importance occurring between the revolutionary period and 1861, or with the civil war period? What monuments are there in your section? What boys or girls who attended your school have attained to national distinction?"

It may be rather premature for me to suggest carrying out any plans for the organization of local school history clubs, but it appears to me that the appointment of a committee to bring the matter to the State Superintendent's notice before the next meeting of the Illinois Teachers' Association, asking for suggestions as to plans of procedure, and for such co-operation as may be possible, will be a practical method of calling public attention to the subject.

The present local Historical Societies now in existence, should be urged to become in some manner yet to be determined, auxiliary to the Illinois State Historical Society, and all new societies to be formed hereafter, should be brought into the same harmonious relation. Should it then be thought wise, in the future progress of our work, to institute some form of central oversight, or possibly some system of legislative assistance, the whole State can be reached in a systematic manner, after models now in existence in other states.

It is fortunate that our State Historical Library, at the the State Capital, has at present facilities for assisting the State Society in carrying forward this great work of organization, and in my opinion, it will be very greatly to the society's interest, which is the public interest, if the books and papers which it may accumulate, shall be kept in the State Historical Library. There is an argument of great strength in this position, in the fact, that in this manner our society and its work can be impressed upon the members of the State Legislature, upon the State officials, and the general public, as being most emphatically a State institution, acting in harmony with all the great departments of state as administered at the State Capitol.

The magnificent work of the New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin State Historical Societies, in gathering up important history, a work which has cost already several millions of dollars, should teach the third most important State in the Union, its need for such a society, as we hope to see organized here. Valuable as are the collections now in our State Historical Library, and in the Library of the Chicago Historical Society, much yet remain to be added to these, or to be gathered by some such broadly organized body as our own. Important documents, even of the early days of Illinois, yet remain where they can be utilized by such local organizations as we are discussing, and we shall never know how many of these exist until the whole State has been completely examined. These documents of great value do not all relate to our earliest period, but they cover important subjects, and when brought to light, they or copies of these will not only be objects of great value to the local societies, but can also be added to the collections in possession of the State Society. It will thus readily be seen that there are a great variety of ways which need not be specified, in which wide awake local societies can very greatly aid the parent society in carrying forward its chosen work.

As the Wisconsin Historical Society is now making arrangements through the officers of the State Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, for local auxiliary organizations to assist in the great work of gathering up the records of the Civil War, which organizations, are by the law of the State, recognized as auxiliary to the State society, it may be well for us to follow this example, and appoint a committee to confer with officials of our own State Encampment, with a view to bring about a general coöperation between these semi-military societies and the Illinois State Historical Society.

No matter what method is taken for a more thorough organization of the friends of local history, I feel confident that one of the greatest aids in the work will be an annual field meeting of this society at some important historic locality. Suppose we meet next year at Starved Rock in LaSalle county, another year at Black Hawk's Watch Tower at Rock Island, another time here at some point near Historic Peoria, some other time near the site of old Kaskaskia, which is now the bed of the Mississippi river, and again at the great Cahokia Mound. Suppose that when we are at the latter place, near the line between the counties of St. Clair and Madison, we can be met by a strong Historical society from both of these two large counties, which are so full of archaeological remains and historical associations, and suppose that in LaSalle, Rock Island, Randolph and Peoria, we are also met by an enthusiastic, well organized society from each of these counties.

Suppose that we can follow these meetings by great field meetings at the lead mine region of Galena, or the site of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo, or perhaps gather at the National Cemetery at Mound City where the State has raised a monument to its heroic dead, or again in Menard county at the new Chatauqua Camp near the vanished town site of New Salem, hallowed by sacred memories of Abraham Lincoln, and that we are properly received at each locality by a well organized County Historical Society.

Is it not safe to say that ten such meetings, and ten such local societies would find nearly all the rest of the State alive to the importance of the cause? If ten such or similar field meetings are held, is it not tolerably certain that the good work will continue until 1918. And is it not just as certain that the year 1918 will find the Illinois State Historical Society backed by the maturely organized historic sentiment of our citizens fully prepared to do justice to the Centennial Celebration of the great State of Illinois to come off in 1918? There are eighteen more years for preparation for this very important historical event. If we act vigorously and are well supported by public sentiment during these eighteen years, we ought long before the year 1918 to see our whole state fully organized, with one large parent society containing members from all over the State, with auxiliary local historical societies in every one of our 102 counties, besides many township or city societies, together with other affiliated organizations devoted in part to historical investigations.

We will imagine this great work of organization, under the stimulus of a magnificent scheme for a State Centennial Celebration, to be thoroughly completed. The great city by Lake Michigan, and the little cities on the Ohio river, with all the inhabitants of the broad prairies of Illinois, will enthusiastically unite in doing honor to the memory of the great men of the past. Under the shadows of the Lincoln monument, at the State Capitol, the members of the Illinois State Historical Society, representing every county, every city, almost every neighborhood, will be met by delegations from hundreds of local historical societies, and then will be appropriately celebrated the anniversary of the first century of the existence of the great central Empire State of the Mississippi Valley, then to be second in importance in our magnificent galaxy of free and independent States!

We, who are attempting to properly awaken an enthusiastic spirit of historic investigation and appropriate organization, may not all live to see the consummation of these hopes, but our places will be filled by more zealous lovers of the history of the proud State of Illinois, and under the lead of wiser and abler counsellors, the Illinois State Historical Society will carry forward the good work in which we are engaged, and will finally see, not only the artistic and imposing celebration of 1918, but many subsequent future Centennials, each in succession commemorating the wonderful development of the preceding century.

IX.

CONGRESSIONAL REMINISCENCES.

By General James M. Ruggles.

The first representative in Congress from the State of Illinois was Daniel P. Cook of Kaskaskia, who served from December, 1818, until March 4, 1827.*

Joseph Duncan of Jacksonville was the successor of Mr. Cook and served from 1827 to 1833, as the one representative of the State.

Under the census of 1830 the State was divided into three Congressional districts. †From the 1st district, John Reynolds of Belleville, from the 2nd, Zadok Casey of Mt. Vernon, and from the third, Joseph Duncan were elected, Duncan resigning to be elected Governor in 1834. William L. May of Springfield served as his successor and was again elected in 1834 together with Reynolds and Casey.

In 1826 Adam W. Snyder of Belleville, Casey and May were again elected.

In 1838 Reynolds and Casey were again elected from the 1st and 2nd districts, and John T. Stuart of Springfield from the 3rd district.

The same three congressmen were elected in 1840.

Previous to the year 1843, the entire State had but three congressional districts, two of them occupying a small portion of the south end of the State. In 1833 John T. Stuart of Springfield, the Whig candidate, and Stephen A. Douglas of Jacksonville, the democratic champion, canvassed the great northern district for the Congressional prize, and after a most notable contest Stuart, the Whig, came out seven votes ahead and was the first Whig Congressman elected in Illinois.

The census of 1840 gave to Illinois four additional Congressmen and the election was postponed a year to get the benefit of the new apportionment made by the Legislature that adjourned on the 6th of March, 1843. The Whig convention for the 7th district was called to meet at Pekin in May, 1843, and the two popular champions of the party, Edward D. Baker of Springfield and John J. Hardin of Jacksonville, were the aspirants for Congressional nomination.

I had been chosen as the delegate from Scott county and on my arrival at Pekin was met by Gen. Baker, who at once sought an interview in which he said—"Well, how is it? There are fifteen delegates for Hardin and fifteen for me, and it all depends on you." My answer was that he well knew my partiality for him, but I was sent there by people who favored Hardin. He then said, "That settles it—you will have to go for him." We then entered the room where the convention was held. Abraham Lincoln was there as the champion delegate for Baker and Wm. Brown of Jacksonville for Hardin. The convention was called to order and I was called to act as secretary. General Baker arose and made a most thrilling speech and ended with declining

*Mr. Cook was the representative elected for the first full congressional term, 1819-1821. He had, however, been preceded by John McLean who qualified as a representative from Illinois at the second session of the fifteenth Congress. Ed.

†Mr. Reynolds was elected after the close of the first session of the twenty-third congress to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Charles Slade. Ed.

his candidacy, leaving a unanimous vote for Gen. Hardin, who was not present. Then Mr. Lincoln came across the room to the secretary's table and asked me in a low confidential tone, if I would favor a resolution recommending Baker for the next term. On receiving a favorable answer he said, "You prepare the resolution, I will support it, and I think we can carry it." The resolution brought on a lively battle between the friends of the rival candidates—but when the vote was taken it had passed by a majority of one! In the canvass that followed James A. M'Dougal, who was Attorney General for the State at one time and afterwards a United States Senator, from California, was Gen. Hardin's Democratic opponent.

In 1844 the Whig convention was held at Tremont. There was no opposition to Baker, I was again a delegate and secretary of the convention. In the canvass that followed John Calhoun of Springfield was the democratic candidate. On the 30th of December, 1846, Col. Baker returned from the Mexican War, went to his seat at the capital in full military dress, made a flaming war speech, resigned his seat in Congress, and returned to the battle field. Capt. John Henry of Jacksonville was elected to fill the balance of the term.

In 1846 the Whig convention was held at Mt. Pulaski. Mr. Lincoln was the only Whig candidate, and had for his democratic opponent the famous Methodist preacher, Peter Cartwright. I was again made a delegate but could not attend the convention.

In 1848 Stephen T. Logan was the only Whig candidate and was beaten in the canvas by Maj. Thos. L. Harris of Petersburg, who had just returned from Mexico well stocked with honors of war.

In 1850 Richard Yates of Jacksonville defeated Major Harris, the democratic candidate.

In 1852 Gov. Yates again defeated Major Harris. In this canvass an amusing incident occurred. I was in Springfield during the canvass, having accepted an invitation from Mr. Lincoln, John T. Stuart, Simeon Francis, and others to be a candidate for the State senate from the capital district without a convention. Gov. Yates invited me to go with him to Mechanicsburg, where he and Major Harris were to have a joint discussion. He said Major Harris had been making false assertions about him and if he repeated them, he (Yates) intended to give him the lie, and in that event he wanted a friend to stand by him. The offensive remarks were repeated by the Major and Yates gave him the lie, and soon after the meeting adjourned. Harris went out first and when Yates and myself went out we found the Major standing near the door with an open knife in one hand and a large plug of tobacco in the other. He immediately stepped forward and remarked, "Knowing that you two gentlemen are good judges of fine chewing tobacco, I present this to you," at the same time cutting the plug and handing to us. We accepted with thanks, glad to see that there was no fighting to be done.

Major Harris was again elected to congress in 1854 and 1856 and died in November, 1858, whilst yet a member.

The incident in the Pekin convention, followed up by the actions of the succeeding conventions in 1844, 1846, 1848 and 1850, naturally suggests the inquiry, was there a rotation scheme adopted to land certain men in Congress? It looks a little that way, but I have no knowledge of such a purpose and am inclined to the opinion that in those better days men were less selfish and more willing to divide political honors with worthy men in the party.

Hardin, slain in the the battle of Beuna Vista; Baker, at Ball's Bluff; Lincoln, at the Nation's Capital; Yates, Harris, Stuart, Douglas and M'Dougal—all from the old seventh district—and such noble, patriotic men; three of them, in the order named, willing martyrs, who died that their country might live. What other like portion of the earth has given to the world such a splendid lot of jewels?

It was my blessed privilege to know more or less intimately all the parties named in this paper, except Daniel P. Cook—he was before my time. The brightest pages in my memory refer to them. All have long ago passed on to the invisible world but the memory of their noble lives still lives in the hearts of their countrymen.

X.

RECOLLECTIONS OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

By Major George Murray McConnell.

Before trying to put into words some of the things I recall about Mr. Douglas, I wish to express my appreciation of the honor of being asked to do so. I am often disposed to think that 'the unpardonable sin' is not a fixed and definitely 'known quantity,' an act that is always the same in essence, though different sinners may adopt different methods of committing it, but that it varies from age to age and in different localities. In our age and country the 'unpardonable sin' of all, is to be more than forty years old. This is pre-eminently the age of 'the young man.' There is nothing that he thinks he can not do better than the old man, and he insists that he himself must be permitted to determine just who is an old man, except to indulge in reminiscences. He has not yet, at least, developed an ambition to 'reminisce', but no prophet can foretell how soon he may develop it, since, like that other product of the age, 'the New Woman,' who seems to cast covetous eyes upon the only thing she has not yet captured, the dignity of being a father, the 'young man' has taken in everything except the reminiscent power. And when he has taken up that; the old man may cry with Othello, that his 'occupation is gone.'

It may be equivalent to classification as 'ancient history,' yet it is a distinction very grateful to me to be identified with this first annual meeting of a state society which was far too late in being born, and has before it a vast field for research reaching back for more than two centuries. What I may say about Mr. Douglas may be of but small importance in history, but it will, at least place my own name on the record of a society 'with a future,' because of the happy circumstances that even the man who as before remarked, dominates this age can not possibly remember what happened before he was born, and must 'give the old man a chance.'

Mr. Douglas came to Jacksonville, where my father, Murray McConnel, was then a practicing lawyer, in the year in which I was born, as I have been informed. His coming, therefore, is hardly a reminiscence, but the information is. It is probably true that the money with which he started from New York was nearly exhausted, but I do not believe it was reduced to 37½ cents as some of his biographical sketches have stated.

Nor do I believe that when he left Jacksonville to go to Winchester, in Scott county, he walked the sixteen miles between the two places. I have always understood that my father was one of the first men he met in Jacksonville; that he remained in that town for some time, probably some months, during which time he was made welcome to the use of my father's law books, and welcome in his home, and was helped along with good counsel and friendly light on the people among whom he had come, with a view of making his 'tenderfoot' period as short and easy as possible; and further, that when he did go to Scott county, whereof, Winchester is the county town, he took with him letters of introduction from my father, who had formerly lived there, through which he secured the school where he taught for a short time. I do not believe that he walked, because in those helpful and hearty days, when Illinois had hardly ceased to be a frontier state, it was as easy to find some way for him to ride as to give him a letter of introduction, and I know that for many years thereafter my father himself drove over the road between Jack-

sonville and Winchester once or twice a month all the year round. I remember hearing him say that almost the first thing he heard of Douglas after he began teaching in Scott county, was that he was an 'independent candidate for the legislature.' He was not successful in 'breaking into' office at that time, but that he so promptly made the attempt was characteristic of the man. He was filled with the commanding, irrepressible instinct of leadership, and the direction in which that leadership should be exercised was determined by another spontaneous quality, the civic instinct. He was born with the potentiality of strong convictions and the desire to impress those convictions upon others. But his way of doing so was never the arbitrary nor even the dogmatic way. He had no sort of disposition to go, like the Mohammedan, with a creed in one hand and a sword in the other, and a fanatic resolution that every man he met must swallow one or the other. The very first impulse of the man, when he found anyone dissenting from him in opinion, may be embodied in the familiar phrase, 'Come let us reason together.' It was as natural and spontaneous with him to reason, to argue, to seek to convince, as it is to all men to eat.

During the very early years of my life, Mr. Douglas was often in my father's house. I remember a few salient and striking things about him rather than any definite recollection of the man as a whole, for several years. If I had not known him later as a man, I could never have told to what personality these salient points were to be attributed. I remember most distinctly, perhaps, his eyes and his voice. The eyes were large, steady, and with a peculiar quality that impressed one as depth. I can not tell what it is. It can not be merely some arrangement of surfaces that reflect life in a certain way, because, I have noticed the same quality in the eyes of some portraits. There is a portrait of Napoleon the eyes in which always produced the same effect on me, gave me the same creepy kind of thrill along the spinal column that seemed to be strangely made up of contradictory qualities, a kind of fearful delight. He often gave much attention to me in the years in which my first vague recollections come back to me. At least it seemed to me that it was much, yet I can see now, saw, indeed, only a few years later, that for all his attention to me he never lost touch with other things going on about him. He would take a book, any book, or one of the rare newspapers in those days, and would be pointing out to me the letters of the alphabet and showing me how to distinguish between them, so that, as I have often said, I learned my a, b, c's from him, and before I had any just conception of what letters were; and yet never lose the thread of a lively or a serious conversation with one or two, or more, other persons present. At such times I would see, or seem to see, depths unfathomable in the eyes, and for years I rarely saw those letters of the alphabet without feeling the image, I can not express it in any other way, of those unblenching eyes in my conscious memory. As I grew older I began, while still drawn by the same spell, to be conscious that he showed always a certain curious gift of alertness, of being vividly alive to all that was going on about him, to be, as it seems to me now, carrying on several independent mental processes at the same time.

Another thing I remember distinctly is his voice. In ordinary inter-course he was not what could be fairly called a "loud talker." The vocal strength used was always adapted to the circumstances. But there was a certain quality of broad, deep, vibrant energy in the tone that was strangely enthralling alike to one or two, or to a throng of many thousands.

Years afterwards when I was probably fourteen or fifteen, he spoke, on one of many occasions, at an out door meeting in Jacksonville, from an improvised platform of a long and wide table standing on the shady side of the old court house, one mellow, golden September afternoon. With the privilege of a boy friend I sat for nearly three hours on the table in front of him, as he spoke over my head to several thousand people.

There was a fitful wind rustling and murmuring through the young trees under which the crowd sat and stood, and his voice rose and fell with the wanton swell and subsidence of the wind, round, deep, sonorous, with the effortless volume of a great organ tone, never failing to reach his remotest auditor, yet never shattering into mere sound on the ears of those nearest.

It filled every capacity I had for hearing, as it rolled out close over my head, yet it never gave me any sense of being deafened, and for long hours afterward I could hear, on the imaginative side of my memory, the measured cadences of his sentences, as one feels the swell of the ocean for days after ending a long voyage.

It did not seem strange to me then, that when he came to Jacksonville he knew everybody. It was a small semi-frontier town, and I knew everybody too. But it dawned on me, after a time, that I saw all those people, "Cap," and Dick and John and Patrick, every day, while he was there only at long intervals of time, long, that is to say, for personal acquaintance, and that meantime he was deep in the whirl of a great, tumultuous life movement, only faint echoes of which ever came to me. Then I began to appreciate the truth that it was a wonderful power he had of recognizing at a glance each one of those unimportant units in our little corner of the world. The power of calling "Cap," and Dick and John and Patrick each by his proper name on the instant, that he knew even the names of their boys and girls, never misplacing one of them, I could scarcely do that myself though I saw them every day, and saw few others. It is impossible for me to say how much effort this cost him, but I do know that it did not seem to cost him any at all. It seemed as spontaneous as breathing. There is no more subtle or more powerful flattery possible to man. He gave to everyone of those humble and practically nameless followers the impression, the feeling, that he was the frank, personal friend of each one of them. And yet I do not think he was ever with one of them for a minute without also leaving in his mind an ineffaceable impression of having been in contact with something immeasurably higher and deeper and broader than himself, of a great imposing personality, in a word.

It has always seemed to me a misfortune for him that he was so short in stature. His walk in life forced him to 'show himself' to his fellow men. In most circumstances he rose, by sheer force of brain and will, above the disadvantage. Yet it was a disadvantage, and I have always felt and feel yet, that if, without any other change, he had been given the imposing stature and presence, aside from the head, of Webster, for example, he would have loomed larger in the history of his country.

One of my vivid recollections of the man is that he was often accused of a kind of ingratitude, the ingratitude of the politician. That is to say that he was always keenly alive to the importance of gaining new followers; that in the distribution of such prizes as he could command he always had this in view; that he 'threw his influence,' as the phrase is, for "Cap" to be postmaster instead of Dick, because he was absolutely sure of Dick's loyalty, in any event, while 'Cap' was more or less an uncertain quantity. There may have been some truth in the imputation. The man who can steer clear of such a feeling altogether must be something more, or less, than man. It is a continuing temptation for almost any man in our system of party government. The power to have any prizes to distribute at all, depends wholly upon being able to command more followers than the other man. The party leader may well feel justified in applying half of the prizes to the securing of enough of the doubtful element to make his majority, because without the majority he will not have anything to bestow on anybody. It seems to me significant that of all I can remember to have heard said on the point in those days it was nearly all among those who were his avowed adversaries. I never heard but one man, of those who professed to be his friends, who hinted at any complaint of this type, and he was a man to whom Mr. Douglas had promised his 'influence' for an office of importance, and had later found it wise to recommend another man, frankly telling the first man his reason. When I asked of the latter if he considered the reason a good one, in politics, he replied: 'Well, yes, I suppose so, but Douglas should have conferred with me, first, 'Would you have assented?' I asked. 'Why, of course,' he said, 'though I would have felt unwilling to give up.' Then, after a pause, he continued, 'I suppose I ought to feel gratified that he had, as he said, sufficient confidence in my generosity to feel sure of my assent, while he had

not time to consult me'. This incident and Mr. Douglas' way of treating it seemed to me to throw a strong light on the evils of the system itself, as well as on the course that Mr. Douglas, like every other politician sometimes found himself forced to pursue. When he is in a large majority, it is safe for him to place all his prizes among his friends, but the trouble then is that he has more friends than places. Hence, somebody has to be denied, and, consequently, the next time he will have fewer friends and far less influence. I heard, unwittingly, part of a conversation between Mr. Douglas and another man to whom he had promised something in the heated Douglas-Lincoln campaign of 1858. 'I do not see,' he said, 'that I could do otherwise. If I were defeated, you, my friend, would not get the place now or ever. If I could hold my rank there was every reason to hope that in a not far distant future I could compensate you for waiting. If I should lose my hold, your waiting would be forever.' In this case the man replied, 'All right, Doug. It's hard luck; but it's politics. I'll not knife you.'

An incident of the campaign of 1860 will serve to show how he bore himself in trying circumstances, and, at the same time, will illustrate the conditions of the times. Pardon the personal note in it. I can scarcely tell it without. In that year Mr. Douglas spoke to a large meeting in Jacksonville in the afternoon, remained there through the night, and went to Springfield the following forenoon. An older brother of mine had been for years a warm supporter of Mr. Douglas, but in this campaign adhered to the 'administration' or 'Buchanan' wing of the party. In a manner unnecessary to detail here, this brother was accused of unfairly 'capturing,' and speaking to, a meeting which had come together on the preceding evening to hear a distinguished gentleman, who was later high in the military service of the country, who was traveling with Mr. Douglas. The charge was unjust, as to motive and facts, but the distinguished gentleman was very indignant. I will not name him, because he is still living. Let me call him the colonel, and add that I have never had any doubt that he thought he was in the right, and further that I knew he was wrong as to the facts of the captured meeting, though I agreed with him and not with my brother in the party schism.

My brother was on the train going to Springfield, and at the first stop was called from his seat into the postoffice division of the baggage car by Mr. Douglas, who was much surprised and grieved at this defection of one of his oldest friends. There was no way of reaching this postoffice room except along a narrow iron rod on the outside of the car, holding to another rod running along the car-side, near the roof. A hair-raising transit for a novice, when the train was in motion. I knew of this meeting and of Mr. Douglas' wishes. Both my father and brother had always been among Mr. Douglas' warmest partisans, and he was genuinely startled to find this defection in such a place, and was anxious to reclaim his friend. Before the train had run three miles, a local politician came into the coach where I sat and stooping his white, scared face to me, whispered that my brother was 'in danger in the postoffice room.' I rose quietly and passed into that room. There I found Mr. Douglas sitting on the wide shelf used for distributing mail, talking earnestly to my brother who leaned against the edge of this shelf close against Mr. Douglas' knee.

The colonel and one or two others stood across the little compartment with scowling brows. Almost as I entered, the colonel strode forward and angrily confronting my brother, spoke of the captured meeting, charging him with it as if from some information. 'It is false, sir,' was the prompt reply, my brother's purpose being not to 'give the lie' to the colonel, for he knew the colonel spoke only on information, but to give the lie to his informant whomsoever he might be. But the colonel took it as being applied to himself. The air was sultry before, but at these words one could fairly smell the sulphur in it. I instantly stepped in front of my brother, knowing I was safe from him, and confronted the colonel, whose eyes glared fiercely while his right hand was thrust quickly under the skirt of his coat, to draw a revolver as I was sure, while I could plainly see the pistol of at least one of his friends. Before any reply could be made, there was a diversion caused by the sudden en-

trance at one of the open side doors of one of my brother's partisans, who silently showed me a long, gleaming steel blade thrust up his sleeve, and took his place by my side. As my brother's hand came over my shoulder in a quiet attempt to push me aside, I saw the barrel of a short, heavy Derringer lying under two extended fingers. I myself leaned lightly on an old-fashioned sword cane, tense, alert, scared, I'm free to say now, resolved to keep peace if I could, but to defend my brother if I must, even against my political friends. The situation was characteristic of that tempestuous time in central and southern Illinois. Large numbers of men carried arms, yet hesitated to use them, because they knew so many were likewise ready, and because all felt that if the convulsion began, no man could guess in what amazing zig-zags the line of cleavage would open. For fifteen minutes or more we stood thus, while one of the colonel's friends seeing the misconception after a few minutes, strove to compose the difficulty, and at last succeeded.

The position of Mr. Douglas in this situation may be imagined. He was a candidate for the presidency. His friend, the colonel, was a conspicuous man, another man present was a State officer, and every man present except Mr. Douglas himself, and perhaps the mail agent, was armed. A presidential candidate might, of course, be entangled in a riot in some public meeting and escape damaging censure. But here was a small circle of gentlemen, using the mail car of an administration hostile to him, into which it could be made to appear that an offending man had been decoyed alone, two of his friends coming by accident a little later. A brawl in such circumstances would be blown over the house tops by antagonists, and must be absolutely fatal to Mr. Douglas' hope of even respectful hearing, and a fierce brawl of armed men, shut, with him, into a place probably six by eight feet in area, seemed inevitable. It was a situation to try his nerve.

What was his bearing? It was that of the most unblenching coolness, self-command and dignity. When the cloud suddenly lowered, he lifted his head, and his glance swept over the whole situation. I was sure he saw the arms and knew the danger. He lifted his hand, and his heavy voice rose firm and steady over the rattle and clang of the train, 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'this must not be! I sought only to reclaim the support of a valued friend, as you all know. You are all personal friends, and you know the injustice to me of involving me in any personal difficulty—the fatal injustice. There must be some mistake between you. I, my fortunes, have bred your quarrel, in a sense. Let my enforced withdrawal recall you to your better selves,' He sprang down from his high seat and passed out with an air of reproachful dignity, which I, at least, can never forget. It was a hazardous passage for anyone while the train was in rapid motion, and his then protuberant proportions and short stature made such an Al Sirat-like transit doubly hazardous. But he made it with perfect coolness and dignity, and even in the midst of the roused passions toppling on the edge of conflict, there was absolute silence in the little compartment until it was felt that he had regained his place in the following coach. And when my brother and I passed a few moments later, he looked up with a calm, grave smile, and said in low, deep tones, 'I'm glad to see you—well—John!'

The incident illustrated the temper of a time which this generation knows nothing about, and still more vividly, Mr. Douglas' personal weight with men who knew him, even though politically antagonizing him, and his cool and ready self command in emergencies. Had he kept his seat five minutes longer, somebody would have been hurt, he perhaps, most of all. The tense silence while he faced danger in another form to move away, gave time in which "the way out" was opened for all of us.

During the years of my boyhood and youth I saw Mr. Douglas at irregular intervals, and though I was growing and changing he never failed to know and recognize me with the frank, cordial, hearty manner of a personal friend though I was wholly without weight in political life. He never came into his

first stopping place, (Jacksonville was hardly his home at any time), in Illinois, without asking about all the men he knew in the old days, and going out of his way to hunt them up when they did not come to him, though truth to say this was not often necessary. Week after week he would travel through the central parts of the State, speaking often, sometimes more than once a day, nearly always in the open air, rarely showing fatigue from that exhausting labor. Dignity, the sense of his high position as leader and statesman, grew on him with advancing years and more responsible position, but the frank, cordial personal charm among his friends never chilled nor faded to the last.

I trust it may be pardoned to other exacting duties if I venture to read here some further glimpses of my recollections of him which were printed a few years ago, but probably have not been seen by any here present.

An old-fashioned parlor in what was then nearly fifty years ago, amid Illinois frontier village, from the air of which the smoky smell of the wigwam had not been long absent, and now less than 100 miles from the center of population of the whole union. A sofa with scroll ends, with black hair-cloth, from whose glare surface an incautious sitter might slide as from a tilted glacier. Half a dozen chairs, small brothers in the same haircloth family. A square piano that seemed huge then, but was hardly larger than the large "melodeon" of twenty-five years later, with legs like an inverted lyre, made in Leipsic and carried across the ocean, over the Mexican gulf, up the Mississippi and the Illinois, and thence by wagon twenty or more miles to the town where it was the pioneer and wonder of music for years. In front of this, a little round stool, covered with a bright scarlet fabric of worsted, studded thick around the crown with brass-headed nails, and wonderfully moved up and down by a huge screw that would have lifted a locomotive.

The girls varying from 16 to 20 years, and, half hiding behind the oldest, a small boy, of 4 years, perhaps, to whom everything was wonderful, and most of all, how it was possible for these three older sisters of his to chaff and laugh so unmercifully at a young man who sat merrily swinging from left to right and back again on the little red piano stool, changing direction by touching with his hands the piano behind him, because his legs were too short to reach the floor, and merrily flinging back gibe for gibe, laughing even more merrily than the girls, meeting wit and joke with joke and wit, never losing the ring of merriment in his voice, never "rattled," though the girls laughed at his dusty boots, (and they were, indeed, dusty; fairly greasy with the rich gray dust of central Illinois,) and merry jokes about his inability to reach the floor with his toes, never losing his temper nor his nonchalance nor even once suffering the glancing shafts of wit and "chaff" to ruffle him nor to fall to the ground. He was a slender little fellow, about 5 feet 5 in height, and did not weigh more than 120. But he had a huge head, and once or twice the wondering boy had a chance to look full into the wide open eye when the owner was not conscious of the look. He could not then tell his own feelings, but along that look, as on a magnetic wire, came a thrill, even then, as one looks down into limpid, fathomless depths of water, or, rather, when from the top of a tall tower, one lies flat and looks straight away from the earth into the infinite.

Fifteen years later, the boy, now a raw youth, stood in the old senate chamber, now the supreme court room, in Washington, which was packed to suffocation. Every senator was present. Old Sam Houston, with his panther skin vest, paced restlessly to and fro behind the presiding officer's seat. Butler of South Carolina, his long white hair flowing to his shoulders, looked out over the 'field of fight' alert as a boy. Sumner pretended to read, but obviously did not. Notwithstanding the discomfort of the crowded galleries and the packed floor space behind the senators, there was a quiet that was even ominous, in impression, broken only by the deep, heavy, sonorous tones rolling from the lips of the erstwhile slender young man with the dusty boots, as he stood in the center of the chamber and opened the debate over the measure he had found himself forced to champion, the once famous Kansas-Nebraska bill. The measured utterance flowed on yet unwarmed for ten minutes..

From where he stood in the gallery the boy saw a tall, cold looking man, with a very bald head and an uncertain eye, rise in his place, and, as the speaker drew his breath, interrupted: "Mr. President, I rise—" The speaker started slightly, his cheek paled a little, and the lines about the mouth deepened. "Sir, I do not yield the floor." The tone was even and steady, but it was plain there was intense feeling behind it. "Mr. President," repeated the tall, cold man, imprudently. Instantly the irate speaker turned squarely toward him, with flaming eyes and tones that rang like the blast of a trumpet across a stricken field. "I say I do not yield the floor! A senator who comes to me with a smile on his face while malice is in his heart and a lie on his lips, and asks for time for consideration and then uses it to falsely malign my character and villify my motives before my countrymen, does not deserve any courtesy at my hands, nor shall he receive it!" The tall man dropped into his seat as if the words had been bullets. Then, for three hours that onetime slender young man was the center of a tumultuous ring of savage foemen, his friends leaving him to fight alone, breathless witnesses of the supreme readiness and daring with which he grappled with them as they came and shook them off, always to their hurt, unhesitating and undaunted, an intellectual gladiator whose superior, in unpremeditated debate, has never stood in the national senate. In the midst of this collision of titantic intellectual forces he was as superbly master of himself as when the merry girls laughed at his dusty boots and short legs.

Four years later the boy, now a young man, stood again in the gallery of the senate, saw the same familiar sturdy figure, crowned with the lionine head lighted with the deep, fearless eyes, again the undaunted center of a pack of savage foes, beating off their assaults with a swift promptness and crushing energy that amazed both friend and foe. The same deep, sonorous tones, the same measured, unmistakable, unfaltering utterance, and pitched to the same keynote, the right of each community to govern itself, and confidence that sooner or later the people, the plain people, would do it well. But what a change in persons! The foes who had swarmed about him before sat dumb to see the foeman before whose couched lance each one of them had gone down time and time again, now tilting as gallantly and as victoriously against those who all along had shouted in his following and had gathered the fruits from the fields he won! With that fatal madness wherewith the gods always inspire those whom they mean to destroy, the men for whom he had demanded and won in 1850, and again vindicated in 1854 and 1856, simply equality of legal and political privilege, now demanded superior privilege, and he fought against that demand as strenuously and as gallantly as he fought for the other. They for whose political right he fought and won, now sought to force slavery on an unwilling community. He met them at the threshold and vanquished them as completely as he had vanquished their foes. Signally did he redeem a pledge voluntarily spoken four years before to his boyish friend.

Three years, and the men whom he defied in 1858 had revenged themselves by "knifing him" two years later, and then threw down the intellectual and caught up the steel sword, because of the situation which their own party treachery produced. They stood over the nation, which had been too generous to think such a thing possible, with that bloody sword, and they even looked to him and his friends to stand apart from the strife.

Once more, this time in the capital in his own State, the young man listened and thrilled to those measured, emphatic tones which urged no patriotism bound within any narrow lines, which waived all else aside but that love of the whole fatherland which demanded and insisted upon its life, first of all. It was the turning point in the tide. From the hour when his solemn exhortations to his countrymen rolled across the land, there was no locality among all the free states where serious division was possible. That solemn voice, speaking, as it soon proved, from the brink of the grave, drowned, as one may say, the thunder of the southern guns. Could the men who heard those

speeches in the spring of 1861 live for a thousand years they could never forget them nor their effect.

Without his insistent devotion to the right of every community to govern itself, freedom in 1850 and again in 1854 would have been forced into premature and disastrous war or put off with two-penny compromises by acres. Without his long heroic resistance to arrogance from 1857 to 1861 the crisis of the latter year would have found more than half of the people of the north uneducated and unready to follow even his own superb exhortation when the sword was lifted. His unselfish, patriotic call to his countrymen united the whole north; without its commanding force and influence the event of the Civil War could not have been just what it was, might have been disastrously different.

I feel that I may be pardoned if I advert in some detail to an interview with Mr. Douglas alluded to in the mention of a pledge a moment ago, which throws light upon that which many regard, to this day, as the disastrous crisis in his political career. The substance of it was briefly embodied in a letter of mine to the late John Moses, which appears in a foot note in his history of the State of Illinois. But nearly all the writers on that part of our national history have, as I prefer to believe unwittingly, misrepresented his attitude toward the "peculiar institution" of slavery. To set what I have always felt that I knew to be his attitude at that time in a clearer light, I will, with your permission give a fuller account of that interview with some accompanying general reflections.

The rebellion that succeeds becomes respectable, and is re-christened Revolution, with a capital initial letter. The rebellion that fails, well, it remains rebellion at the best, and its promoters and partisans are fortunate indeed if they escape the consequences of crime. And this remains true, though the conscience of the race has never, since the fall of Rome, taken kindly to classing political offenses as crimes. There is nothing new about all this. It has been said many times over, yet there are some facts that go with it which are not quite so generally recognized. One of these is that although the opinions and principles of a defeated side are rarely, or never, all wrong, nor all its promoters and apologists equally blameworthy, they are mostly so looked upon after defeat is assured. This is not, indeed, always lasting, and there are sometimes curiously swift reversals of judgment. Dutch William was given the crown of England in 1688 because of the very same principles for which unlucky Monmouth lost his head only three years earlier.

Among the perversions common in what has been written, is the imputation of pro-slavery opinions to all who, for whatsoever reason, sought to heal the differences between the North and South before the physical struggle became inevitable. Mr. Webster, Mr. Choate, Mr. Cass, and other men of the North who saw the political difficulties in the way of any national action looking to the extinction of slavery, were stigmatized as pro-slavery men in their day, and have been largely written down so in history since they passed away. Among them all probably no one was more bitterly and unfairly assailed in this record than Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. Without going into further proofs of this attitude toward him it is enough for the present purpose to recall the practical unanimity of anti-slavery writers and speakers, before and since his death, in ascribing to him the sole responsibility for the repeal of the so-called Missouri compromise law in 1854, and the imputation to him of pro-slavery opinions and wishes as the reason for so doing. It mattered not to those who indulged in those imputations that the repealing act was reported to the senate by the Committee on Territories, Mr. Douglas speaking merely as its chairman, nor that as first prepared the formal repealing clause was not in the bill, nor that it was incorporated therein by the committee at the instance of Senator Dixon of Kentucky, and as was understood, as much as the transactions in committee could be known, against the wish of Mr. Douglas, nor that his support of the bill was based wholly on political considerations, nothing he said being susceptible of construction as favoring slavery as such, the broad imputation was, and still is in many minds, that he was the author of the repeal because he was pro-slavery in sentiment and opinion.

Without entering into any argument of the matter let me recount an incident of personal history which throws light on individual opinion and motive at that time. In the winter of 1853-4 I was a youth, passing a school vacation, and something more, in visiting, and acting as a temporary private secretary for a brother-in-law, then a member of Congress from a far western state. Stephen A. Douglas had studied law with and had been befriended by the writer's father, when the young Vermonter first went west, and had known the youth almost from infancy. These facts are mentioned only to show why the statesman felt at ease with and spoke more freely to the boy than he probably did with any of his associates.

When the so-called Kansas-Nebraska bill was reported, a day was set when it should be taken up. Before that day Mr. Sumner and others privately asked of Mr. Douglas a postponement of the taking up for debate, in order that they might have more time to examine it. Mr. Douglas complied and a later day was set. Before that day came, a vehement protest against the measure appeared in the New York Times, and in the National Era, signed by Mr. Sumner, Mr. Chase and others, a most unusual proceeding, in which protest Mr. Douglas was bitterly assailed. On the evening of the day when this protest was read in Washington, the youth aforesaid was alone, writing, in the business room of his brother-in-law in what was then known as Brown's Hotel, and Mr. Douglas called, for some conference with his personal and party friend. Invited to await his return, which was expected at any moment, Mr. Douglas sat down and entered into familiar chat about "home affairs" in Illinois. Few men have surpassed Mr. Douglas in the magnetism of cordiality, and it was a "red-letter day" for the boy.

From home matters his talk drifted to his then recent tour in Europe, and among other things he gave a grotesquely humorous description of his feeling and his appearance, (he was very short in the leg and wholly unused to riding,) when, mounted on a huge horse, in company with the Emperor of Russia and other superb horsemen of the Imperial staff, he had assisted at a review of a part of the Russian army. He was of the opinion that the most conspicuous feature of the occasion, for him, was the ominous evolutions of his horse's ears.

He had risen to go, the member of the House not having returned, when he saw a copy of the Times on the table. At once the whole aspect of the man changed. His face flushed, his heavy brows lowered, and a dull fire glowed in his eyes. "Have you read this?" he asked, abruptly. The youth said yes, and expressed indignation at its tone. "Yes, it is an unpardonable thing," he said, "in many ways, and in nothing more than the duplicity of the way in which opportunity was secured to forstall public opinion, to say nothing of the vilification of me and my motives."

He absently took a cigar from the mantel, lit it and began to walk back and forth before the fire, at first slowly and then more and more rapidly and impetuously as he talked. He seemed to feel it a relief to talk where he was not forced to be perpetually on his guard. The cigar soon ceased to burn, and he chewed it savagely into shreds, flung them into the fire, and then another and another went in the same way. Much that he said can not be recalled, but much more was burned indelibly into the memory of his one startled hearer. "Stick to the law, my boy," he began, "stick to the law! Never go into politics. If you do, no matter how sincere and earnest you may be, no matter how ardently you may devote yourself to the welfare of your country, and your whole country, no matter how clearly you see, or think you see, that the whole is necessarily greater than any one part, no matter how clear it may be to you that the present is an inheritance from the past, no matter how conscientiously you may feel that your hands are tied, and that you are bound to do only what you can do with loyalty to institutions fixed for you by that past, rather than what you might prefer to do if free to choose, no matter for all this, or more, you will be misinterpreted misrepresented, vilified, traduced, and finally sacrificed to some local interest or unreasoning passion. Adams, Webster, Clay, Wright, others, were victims, and I suppose I must be another.



"I am not pro slavery. I think it is a curse beyond computation, to both white and black. But we exist as a nation, by virtue only of the Constitution, and under that there is no way to abolish it. I believe that the only power that can destroy slavery is the sword, and if the sword is once drawn no one can see the end. I am not willing to violate the Constitution to put an end to slavery because to violate it for one purpose will lead to violating it for other purposes. To 'do evil that good may come' is false morality, and worse policy, and I regard the integrity of this political Union as worth more to humanity than the whole black race. Some time, without a doubt, slavery will be destroyed, but I confess I shrink from the cost. Offenses must come, 'but woe to them by whom they come.' I am not willing to set fire to the ship in order to smoke out the rats.

"I firmly believe this Missouri compromise is a step toward freedom. Slavery can no longer crouch behind a line which Freedom is cut off from crossing. I was surprised that the proposal to repeal came from the South. I dread the effect, and said so. But what can I do? All my public life I have been a party man. For nearly twenty years I have been fighting for a place among the leaders of the party which seems to me most likely to promote the peace and prosperity of my country, and I have won it.

"That party has decided to take a step which seems to me impolitic, if not unwise, and I have said so in the party councils. But I have been overruled, and I must either champion the policy the party has adopted or forfeit forever all that I have fought for—must throw away my whole life and not only cease to be a leader, but sink into a nobody. If I retain my leadership I may help to guide the party aright in some graver crisis. If I throw it away, I not only destroy myself, but I become powerless for good forever after."

"But, Mr. Douglass," said the boy, as he paused, "if you think it right—" "Ah! my boy," he broke in impetuously. "I felt that way once. Felt that if I only thought anything right! But why should I or any one oppose an individual judgment to that of a great party? Am not I at least as likely to be mistaken as the others? That is not politics, nor policy, nor wisdom. Besides, though I am surprised at its source, I believe this repeal will work to the advancement of freedom rather than otherwise, as these villifiers charge. I know I am politically right in keeping within the pale of the Constitution, I believe I am right as to the moral effect, and I know I am right as a party leader anxious to help in keeping his party true to the whole country.

"And here is the bitterness of being so maligned by the men who have played the hypocrite in order to place me in a false position before my countrymen. I know that my motives are as true to honest freedom as theirs can be, and yet they have taken the base advantage of my indulgence to publish me as a traitor to liberty, whose purpose it is to open free territory to slavery. Fools! So far as this action affects it at all, it opens the South to freedom. I can not see how it will come, but that such will be the final result, I have no shadow of doubt. And yet I can not say this openly, lest both sides distrust, and the end itself fail.

"It is the vilification of my motives that most wounds, and yet that I can not resent, as it should be resented. No man loves his country better than I. I know she is not faultless. I see as clearly as they that she is afflicted with a dangerous tumor. But I believe she will slough it off in time, and I am not willing to risk the life of the patient by the illegal and unscientific surgery they demand. D— them," he added, with furious energy, "they are the traitors to freedom, not I, if there be any treason at all. We may all be overwhelmed together in the storm they are brewing, but I, at least, shall stick to the old ship while there's a plank of her afloat.

"Now, then, my boy," he added in a kindlier way, laying a trembling hand on the boy's shoulder, "you may partly see what it is to be misunderstood and traduced, and why I say stick to the law and keep out of politics. I've 'freed my mind,' as the old ladies say, and so, good night."

It is forty years since then, but the indignation, the fire, the impetuous energy, the deep conviction, the undertone of a sense of peril which the speaker could not define nor see how to avert the all pervading love of country, that glowed and vibrated in every terse sentence, are all as vivid in memory as things of yesterday. All the world knows how he did "guide his party aright in graver crises" seven years later, but historians have not yet appreciated how much the restored Union is indebted to that one man for the unshaken loyalty of the great Central West. I regret that preoccupation in perplexing work, and consequent haste of preparation, have precluded making these recollections of one of the most distinguished citizens of our state, one of the most peculiarly and strenuously and uncompromisingly Americans, and I would say American in most emphatic capitals, of all our statesmen, more full and varied, and giving them a higher finish of phrasing. But they will at least serve to throw some light upon what I think I have personal knowledge of, touching his attitude in a grave crisis in our history, and also, while saying nothing of his ambition, which was not greater than that of others, to show how the man, as well as the statesman, impressed a not unobservant boy toward whom he was always charmingly friendly and open, together with some hints of an estimate, from that comparatively close point of view, of his commanding intellectual force and his strenuously manly and broadly patriotic character.

XI.

HISTORICAL MATERIALS IN THE STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AT SPRINGFIELD.

By Hon. George N. Black, Trustee of the Society.

I have been asked to tell you this afternoon something about the historical materials now possessed by the State Historical Library of Illinois and the uses that may hereafter be made of them.

It is rather a dry subject and I fear that I shall not be able to make it very interesting, but I hope, by being brief, not to weary you beyond your endurance. I shall try to show you, firstly, the need of our collection; secondly, what materials have already been collected; and lastly, the uses that may hereafter be made of them, and of all others yet to be accumulated.

With these points before us, I shall now proceed with the subject assigned me. The Illinois State Historical Library was organized on November 25, 1889, being placed in the hands of three trustees, who were empowered to "collect, preserve and communicate the materials relating to the political, physical, religious and social conditions for a complete history of the State."

The objects before the Illinois State Historical Library include all historic matter from prehistoric times to our own days.

This wide aim includes whatever illustrates the history of the land we live in and those who live in it. Books, documents and ancient relics, all lie within its province. And the trustees of the library believe that the safety and care of manuscripts and historical documents will be appreciated by our people generally, and that they will be glad to deposit in the archives of the library any historical treasures which they may possess, and thus save them from inevitable destruction if left in the unsafe keeping of private collectors. Modern methods of historical study require many books; original authorities as well as subsidiary materials. And, for this reason, the State itself must gather together and be ready to supply all the materials needed for its local and State history. Few individuals can afford, like George Bancroft or Francis Parkman, to purchase all the books required to enable them to write even a brief monograph on the historical development of their own state, and fewer still can find the necessary materials, though they possess the means of purchase.

But the State can easily do what an individual can not hope to accomplish. For example—the historical library of Wisconsin has, in fifty years, been able to accumulate nearly two hundred thousand volumes of the most indispensable books in history and its cognate sciences. It is, indeed, only by the abundant aid furnished by such great state libraries that historians have been able to write the many monographs on the historic towns of New England and of the middle states. Without the aid thus furnished all these really valuable books would have remained unwritten, while by their aid many of such books have become storehouses of invaluable information.

In some of them we find the work of graphic pens, while the more graphic pencil has pictured the historic shrines and land marks of our common country. Many of the drawings engraved in these books are unique and of great value, because the historic buildings presented in them have passed away, through changes wrought by time or municipal progress.

Thucydides, one of the wisest of the old Greeks, who has left so much of his wisdom for our use and benefit, says: "History is philosophy teaching by examples." If this be so, and we have no reason to doubt it, we need a full knowledge of history to enable us to judge the future by the past. If we would understand the condition of our own days we must go back and diligently study the olden times, with the causes and effects they produced—on the same great principle indicated by Oliver Wendell Holmes, when he says: "If you wish to know about a boy, turn back to his great grandfather." It may be asked, why? Because heredity plays the same great part in individuals that it does in races. To study our history in this way we require all the materials that will enable us to understand the west as it was, to get the data that will enable us to foretell the west as it will be. To do this satisfactorily, we must have history that gives us, not only the causes that lead directly up to the events described, but also the most remote conditions from which they sprung, in order to judge of the events which are yet to spring from them.

"When we have developed writers with critical acumen which will fit them to do this, we may look for valuable results. Then we certainly may expect great historical studies, strictly impartial in their arrangement of facts, with true perspective and philosophic grasp of the situations and of all the truths depicted; such as we find in the pages of Motley or Macaulay. It is only when the real facts have been discovered, their evidence weighed, their meaning thought out in all its bearings most fully and critically, that a true verdict can be rendered. For this reason the demand of our critical age comes now most sharply. In Dr. Samuel Johnson's dictum, 'State the facts as they are, sir. You have no business with the consequences. Your work is to tell the truth.' If all historians complied with this demand, the personal bias of the writers would less often disport the truth. It is this personal bias that impairs the value of Froude's history, as of many other historians. It is this personal bias that causes the facts of history to be so largely governed by its fictions. It is this distortion of truth that caused old Bishop South to write, 'What are most of the histories of the world but lies? Lies immortalized and consigned over as a perpetual abuse and flaw upon posterity.' It is only when the strictest scientific methods are applied, that history becomes reliable. When the facts and theories are fully tested, and all fiction is eliminated we have real history. The supreme virtue of the historian is absolute truthfulness. A historian should be like the witness on the stand in court, sworn 'to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.' It is to enable our future historians to do this, that the Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library are building up their collection, having placed it on a sure foundation by commencing as nearly as possible at the beginning of the State's history. Pre-historic Illinois has not been neglected. Early man and his remains have been described in many volumes. But the real beginning of tangible records was the advent of the French; whether monks, anxious to propagate the faith, or traders, after the furs of the forests and great lakes and rivers, or soldiers seeking to win new lands for 'La Belle France.'"

Before their coming all is dim and mythical, enveloped in the mists of antiquity. Of these early explorations, the library contains a very good collection, arranged at the suggestion of Judge Beckwith, in chronological order so that the student of our early history may begin with the first of our explorers, of whom any record has been left, and follow the romantic story through all its strange vicissitudes, from the voyage of Jacques Cartier, on until the French lost the Illinois Country in 1765. The library contains the old narratives of Champlain, Nicolet, Marquette, Allouez, Membre, Hennepin, Douay, LaSalle, Tonti, Joutel, LaFontan, Du Pratz, LeClerc, Charlevoix, LeBat, Bossu, and many others, the mere mention of whose names would be a trespass upon your time and patience. However, a mention of the reprint of the 'Jesuit Relations' must be added. This valuable work, when completed will comprise some seventy-five volumes, and contains the original narratives, with the addition of the English translations, for the use of any readers whose knowledge of French is defective, or to whom the language is unknown. Many of the books I have thus enumerated are original editions, and some of them are very rare and valuable. For descriptions

of the Illinois country after French domination had ceased, the library contains many travelers' tales, among the most useful being those of Carver, Henry, and Pittman. It has George Rogers Clark's 'Conquest of the Illinois Country;' Cutler's 'Life, Journals and Correspondence; the St. Clair Papers; Burnet's 'Notes on the Northwest;' Wilson's 'Treaty of Greenville,' and Hon. William H. English's 'Conquest of the Northwest,' all of which are of the greatest historical value.

On the history of Illinois as an organized part of the United States, the library is also very full and complete. It has the laws of the northwest territory, 1792, and the edition of 1800, and a reprint of 1833; laws of Indiana Territory of 1802, and of 1807; the territorial laws of Illinois of 1813, 1814, 1816 and 1817; the laws of the State of Illinois, 1819-1899, an almost complete set of the journals of the General Assembly of Illinois, 1818-1899, as well as the reports to the General Assembly from 1835 to the present. (Previous to 1835 these reports were printed in the house and senate journals.) Among the newspapers in the library, there is a complete file of the "Illinois State Register" from 1836 (in Vandalia) to the present date. These papers are frequently consulted by those in search of out-of-the-way matter and incidents of the olden time.

Among writers whose works illustrate the history of the State of Illinois may be named: Anthony, Birkbeck, Blanchard, Bonham, Breese, Brown, Darby, Davidson & Stuve, Carpenter & Arthur, Dana, Dresbach, Edwards, The Fergus Historical Series, Gillespie, Flint, Flower, Ford, Gerhard, Hall, Handford, Kinzie, Kip, Koerner, Linder, Lusk, Mason, Matson, Moses, Oliver, Palmer, Perkins, Reynolds, Scott, Trowbridge, Van Zandt, Wallace, Washburne, Woodruff, Welby, and Woods. Among the early guide and gazetteers of the State may be mentioned Scott's—(1795,) those compiled by Beck and Peck, respectively, and many others. These lists of books, I hope, will give you a slight idea of the value of this branch of the collection. As the Mormons caused some stir in the early days of the State, the library has a good collection of seventy books bearing upon them and their peculiar tenets, as well as their migrations. It contains five early editions of the Book of Mormon. The original or first edition, published by E. B. Grandin, at Palmyra, N. Y., in 1830; the scarcely less rare Kirtland, Ohio, edition of 1837, and the Nauvoo edition of 1842; the Liverpool edition of 1868, and a scarce Salt Lake City edition of 1883.

One of the greatest features of the State Historical Library is its Lincolniana. The present board of trustees are following in the footsteps of their predecessors in their most earnest efforts to secure everything possible regarding our martyr president. The library has secured from the Sangamon county court records many original Lincoln papers. For instance, it has poll lists showing the record of Mr. Lincoln's first vote; the record showing him as clerk of election; and others in which he is a petitioner for public roads.

Besides these, it has the marriage license, and clergyman's return of the marriage of Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd, dated Nov. 4, 1842. These and many other Lincoln documents form a collection such as can not be shown by any other state library in the United States. On the life and labors of Lincoln, the library contains about eighty bound volumes, and more than fifty pamphlets, with countless magazine and newspaper articles, and sketches from other books, upon his kindred, and contemporaneous persons and events. It also possesses several fine portraits of Mr. Lincoln, among them being a beautiful platinum print from the celebrated original 'Hessler' photograph; Marshall's engraved portrait, and others of great interest. Just here I wish to say that the trustees earnestly desire to obtain from friends of the library, any books, pamphlets or documents bearing in any way upon the history of Mr. Lincoln, because they are most anxious to make this collection of 'Lincolniana' the greatest and most complete in the land. It is surely fitting that Illinois, who gave him to the nation, and within whose domain his sacred ashes are entombed, should lead all other states in collecting memorials to his honor, his honesty and his fame.

While the library has been accumulating these historical materials in regard to Mr. Lincoln, it has not neglected other eminent sons of Illinois. There are many volumes to carry down to future generations the name and fame of U. S. Grant, and of the regiments of the men of Illinois who helped him to fight his battles and win a name and place among the great captains of the earth, as well as of others of Illinois' great sons.

The library also contains a great mass of historical materials in the various county histories, of which it has a very full collection. Many of these histories are not critically exact, but all of them contain much data which will be of great use to future historians of the State.

I have endeavored to give you some faint idea of the historical material which is owned by the State of Illinois, and is now in the State Historical Library at Springfield, but I feel that my imperfect sketch only indicates the general nature of the collection, and that very inadequately. But, to have gone more fully into the matter would have wearied you with the mere mention of the names of books. The Historical Library has at present over ten thousand volumes, consisting of books, pamphlets and magazines, at least six thousand of which are bound volumes. Nearly all of these ten thousand volumes are strictly historical, and many of them invaluable as what the French call '*materiaux pour servir*.'

Our collection forms a very fair nucleus for a grand storehouse of historical knowledge, and we hope it may become a garner into which may be gathered things old and new for future use.

When we remember that the Wisconsin State Historical Society Library, one of the largest and most complete in the country, began in 1859, with only fifty volumes, kept in one small bookcase standing in a corner of the Secretary of State's office, we feel encouraged in our labor of love and look forward with hope and expectation to the time when we, too, shall have a historical library worthy of our great State. As it is, we have collected much of all that has been printed regarding Illinois, and we hope at no distant day to publish the best of its hitherto unpublished history. Our State department has many rare manuscripts, letters and papers in its archives, from which the trustees of this library expect to select and publish, with annotations, the choicest specimens after the manner of the Camden Society of London, or of the Maitland Club of Edinburgh, or Spalding Club of Aberdeen.

The publication of these papers will enable our future historians to draw their data from contemporary documents and show forth long past events as they appeared at the time of their occurrence, to those who witnessed them, and thus these records of the buried past will enable historians to test the truth of our commonly received histories, because the untampered documents are like real, living witnesses.

It is the appreciation of this fact which has led to the formation of all the noble historical libraries of Europe and America. Without the vast collection of materials in the archives of the Marine and Colonial Libraries at Paris the late Pierre Margry could never have written his great work on "*The Discoveries and Establishments of the French in America*." The various accumulations of data by the growing number of historical libraries of the west promises to enrich the literature of the country, because, as has already been said, such accumulations make possible the composition of books which would have been entirely impossible without these gathered materials. Such works attempted without the aid of these historical collections cost in labor and money so great an amount as to cause their writers, as Franklin quaintly puts it, "*to pay too dear for their whistle*."

Take, as a case in point, the history of Pittsfield, in Massachusetts, of which I happen, personally, to know. The people determined that the history of the town should be written, and for that purpose appointed a committee of five of their ablest citizens, with Mr. J. E. A. Smith as editor-in-chief. Their first work was, naturally, to gather materials. This they found to be an exceedingly difficult task, and only after many years of effort and a large expenditure of money and patient labor, was the history finally finished and published. The citizens of Pittsfield were well pleased with the work. They

felt that in this case the old maxim was true which says, "finis coronat opus." But if the immense mass of material which the committee was obliged to collect with such great expenditure of time and labor, had been previously collected and been waiting for its use, when the time came to prepare and edit it for the written book, its task would have been greatly simplified, its labors lessened, and the time required for its preparation much shorter. Time, money and patience would have been saved, and the work, perhaps, better done. This fact is now so fully understood, that in some of the eastern states there are legal provisions made for the "accumulation of material and for the publication of town histories."

The Illinois State Historical Library is now engaged in the first stage of its library work. That is, the accumulating stage, and as year follows year the accumulations will become more and more complete, so that the historian's work in the next century will be an easy task, because he will find the material stored up and ready for his use. There will be printed, also, volumes of reminiscences of the early settlers, men of retentive memories, though scant of book lore, which will be at the command of our future historians and from which they may describe "the good old times," in graphic terms, putting life into the dry bones of our past, even as Macaulay took the old facts and figures which he found in almanacs, ballads, hand-bills, stage-plays, and other "disjecta membra" of the seventeenth century, and breathed into them the fire of his genius and they became living things. By the judicious use of these seemingly useless facts he placed before his readers his history of England, in "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." And this is what we hope may yet be done with the material gathered and stored on the shelves of our Illinois State Historical Library. Gathering up the necessary books is an arduous task, but it is a work from which the State of Illinois may yet gather the usufruct in the works of her sons and daughters.

As for the future of our library, a few words may be appropriate. The object before the trustees of the historical library is broad enough to occupy them permanently, and judging by the past career of the library, they have strong faith that the growth of the collection will be onward and upward. Their guiding motto thus far has been "Festina lente," fully realizing that if they gathered too quickly their impetuosity might betray them into imprudent purchases, and much worthless material might thus be accumulated. But I think I have said enough, perhaps more than enough, upon the subject in hand. Yet I must say in conclusion, that though most of the states were in the field so long before us, and had gathered up some of the most desirable rarities years ago, we are not in the least discouraged. We realize that we have a great work before us, and also that the people of Illinois intend that their State Historical Library shall, in the end, be "second to none."

